Dark Mirrors

Azazel and Satanael in Early Jewish Demonology

Andrei A. Orlov

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Preface

Along with unpublished studies this book contains several essays previously published in journals and collections inaccessible to many interested readers.

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Abbreviations

AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AB	Anchor Bible
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AI	Acta Iranica
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AOASH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ArBib	Aramaic Bible
AsSeign	Assemblées du Seigneur
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AThR	Anglican Theological Review
ATJ	Ashland Theological Journal
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
Bib	Biblica
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BN	Biblische Notizen
BR	Biblical Research

BSac	Bibliotheca sacra
BSJS	Brill's Series in Jewish Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BVC	Bible et vie chrétienne
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
Comm	Communio
ConBNT	Coniectanea neotestamentica or Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CTQ	Concordia Theological Quarterly
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
DT	Deutsche Theologie
EB	Eichstätter Beiträge. Schriftenreihe der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
Ekstasis	Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages
ErJb	Eranos Jahrbuch
ETS	Erfurter Theologische Studien
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
EvT	Evangelische Theologie
ExpTim	Expository Times
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
HM	Hallische Monographien
HR	History of Religion

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
Imm	Immanuel
Int	Interpretation
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JATS	Journal of the Adventist Theological Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCPS	Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JJTP	Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JRT	Journal of Reformed Theology
JSHRZ	Judische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischer Zeit
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period
JSJSS	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period: Supplement Series
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSSSS	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement Series

JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JU	Judentum und Umwelt
JZWL	Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LumVie	Lumière et vie
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
OTF	Oriental Translation Fund
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RB	Revue biblique
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RelSoc	Religion and Society
ResQ	Restoration Quarterly
RevQ	Revue de Qumran
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses
RHPR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScEccl	Sciences ecclésiastiques
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to Numen)
SJ	Studia judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity

SJT	Studies in Jungian Thought
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SO	Symbolae Osloensis
SP	Studia Patristica
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
ST	Studia theologica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StudNeot	Studia neotestamentica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TCS	Text-Critical Studies
TED	Translations of Early Documents
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TTPS	Texts and Translations. Pseudepigrapha Series
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
VC	Vigiliae christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZAW	Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ŹM	Źródła i monografie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZST	Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie

INTRODUCTION

Lightless Shadows

Symmetry of Good and Evil in Early Jewish Demonology

In recent years there has been a renewed interest in the study of the symmetrical patterns found in early Jewish apocalyptic literature.[1] In this literature protological and eschatological times seem to be understood as periods that mirror each other. One instance of this symmetry of protology and eschatology can be found in the early Jewish pseudepigraphon known to us as the *Book of Jubilees*. Scholars have previously noted that in the *Book of Jubilees Endzeit* appears to be mirroring *Urzeit*. One of the researchers remarks that

> *Jubilees* affirms a rigorous temporal symmetry. All human history from creation to new creation is foreordained by God and inscribed in the heavenly tablets, which, in turn, are revealed through angelic mediation to Moses on Mt. Sinai, just as they were revealed to Enoch before him. In this presentation, historical patterns are adduced to confirm divine providence over earthly events. A striking example of this is found in the correspondence between *Endzeit* and *Urzeit*. In *Jubilees*, as in other apocalyptic literature, God intends the world ultimately to conform to his original intention for the creation. But *Jubilees* goes even further by implying a nearly complete recapitulation, that is that the *Endzeit* or restoration would almost exactly mirror the *Urzeit* or patriarchal period.[2]

Another example of the temporal symmetry of apocalyptic protology and eschatology is found in an early Jewish apocalyptic text known to us as *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*. There the disintegration of the primordial aeon of light in the beginning of creation is symmetrically juxtaposed with the aeon's eschatological restoration at the end of time. According to the Slavonic

apocalypse, after the final judgment, when the spatial and temporal order will collapse, all the righteous of the world will be incorporated into a single luminous aeon. The description of this final aeon reveals some striking similarities with the features of the primordial aeon of light portrayed earlier as the foundation of the created order.[3] The eschatological restoration affects not only the peculiar order of the protological events that become reinstated at the end of time but also the destiny of some primeval heroes who are predestined to assume new eschatological functions. One such character is the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch, a central witness of the protological corruption of the earth by the deeds of the Watchers who is also depicted in the Slavonic apocalypse as the first fruit of the eschatological aeon of light. The presence of the important primordial witness at the pivotal apex of the *Endzeil* does not appear to be coincidental. In this temporal "symmetrical" perspective it is often understood that the protological figures, prominent in the *Urzeit*, including Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and other primordial patriarchs and prophets, will become eschatological witnesses by assuming various roles at the end of the time. Jewish apocalyptic writings therefore often offer a plethora of eschatological characters posing as conceptual "reincarnations" of familiar protological exemplars who explicitly and implicitly display the particular features of their primordial counterparts. Christian apocalyptic materials are also cognizant of this typological symmetry of protological and eschatological heroes. Thus, early Christian writers often attempt to envision Jesus as the new Adam or the new Moses—the one who returns humankind to its original prelapsarian condition or brings a new covenant.[4]

The striking symmetry discernable in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings reveals many complex and often perplexing dimensions. Thus, the symmetrical perspective found in pseudepigraphical texts appears to shape not only the "horizontal," temporal, dynamics but also the "vertical," spatial, dimension of the apocalyptic worldview with its peculiar imagery of the heavenly and earthly realms. Reflecting on this spatial symmetry in the *Book of Jubilees* and other early Jewish apocalyptic writings, James Scott observes that they affirm "not only a temporal symmetry between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*, but also, secondly, a special symmetry between heaven and earth."[5] These distinctive correspondences between the earthly and heavenly realities are well known. In the apocalyptic texts such correlations are especially evident in the peculiar parallelism between heavenly and earthly cultic settings that are often depicted as mirroring each other. In this worldview, the earthy sanctuaries, their sacerdotal content, and even their cultic servants, are envisioned as the entities that are predestined to be faithful imitators of their celestial counterparts. In this peculiar perspective even the etiology of these sacerdotal rituals and settings is intimately connected with the

stories of their origination after the patterns of the heavenly cultic prototypes.[6] Further, the authenticity and effectiveness of the earthly sacerdotal establishments are then portrayed as being constantly tested on their faithful correspondence to the ultimate heavenly patterns according to which they were initially formed. As Scott rightly observes, "[T]he goal of history . . . is that the cultus will be 'on earth as in heaven.'"[7]

Indeed, in apocalyptic accounts visionaries are often depicted as either beholding or traveling to the heavenly versions of terrestrial sanctuaries, especially in times when the earthly shrines become physically destroyed or polluted and thus no longer able to fulfill their cultic responsibilities.[8] Yet the symmetrical correspondences between the heavenly and earthly realms do not seem to be reduced solely to the cultic dimension but appear to affect the whole fabric of the apocalyptic enterprise, including the heart of its personal eschatology—the transformation of a seer. In this respect another crucial element that reaffirms the existence of the spatial symmetry is the concept of the heavenly counterpart of the apocalyptic visionary. The origin of this idea in Jewish lore can be traced to some pseudepigraphical writings of the late Second Temple period, including the *Book of Jubilees* where the angel of the presence[9] is envisioned as the heavenly counterpart of Moses.[10]

Scholars have previously noted that Enochic materials are also cognizant of this tradition about the heavenly twin of the seer. Thus, the idea about the heavenly counterpart of the visionary appears to be present in one of the later booklets of *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*—the *Book of the Similitudes*. It has been previously observed that the *Similitudes* seem to entertain the idea of the heavenly double of a visionary when it identifies Enoch with the Son of Man.[11] Students of Enochic traditions have long been puzzled by the idea that the Son of Man, who in the previous chapters of the *Similitudes* is distinguished from Enoch, becomes suddenly identified with the patriarch in *1 Enoch* 71. James VanderKam suggests that this puzzle can be explained by the Jewish notion, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heavenly double or counterpart.[12] As an example, VanderKam points to Jacob traditions[13] in which the patriarch's "features are engraved on high."[14] It is significant that in both Enochic and Jacobite traditions the theme of the heavenly counterpart is often conflated with the imagery of the angels of the presence—the feature that also reaffirms the spatial symmetry between the heavenly and earthly realms.

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Although the main thrust of the spatial symmetry found in apocalyptic literature is often expressed through the formula "on earth as in heaven," the aforementioned spatial correspondence appears to influence not only the

human, earthly abode—the realm believed to be sustained by its faithful mirroring of the celestial realities—but also the demonic quarters of the underworld that also strive to imitate for their own, nefarious purposes the features of the heavenly world.

Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings provide a plethora of illustrations for this often strange and perplexing parallelism of heavenly and infernal dimensions in which demonic creatures try to reflect and mirror not only the features of angelic characters but even the attributes of the deity himself.

One of the important examples of this paradoxal correspondence between divine and demonic figures can be found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where the antagonist of the story, the fallen angel Azazel, is portrayed as a possessor of his own "glory" or *kavod*, the attribute that is reserved almost exclusively for the depiction of the deity in apocalyptic accounts. The demon's possession of such an unusual theophanic feature is not an isolated incident but part of the broader ideological tendency of the Slavonic apocalypse, which unveils the paradoxal symmetry of the good and evil realms.[15] Most striking example of this symmetry is found in chapter 23, where Abraham receives a vision of the protological scene portraying the demon's corruption of the protoplasts. In this disclosure the hero of the faith beholds Azazel situated in the midst of Adam and Eve under the Tree of Life. Scholars have previously suggested that Azazel may attempt here to mimic the divine presence often represented in sacerdotal settings as the intertwined cherubic couple in the Holy of Holies by offering his own, now corrupted and demonic version of the sacred union.[16]

As has been noted above, the symmetry of *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* and the symmetrical correspondences of realms deeply affect the profiles of various characters of the stories, revealing the paradoxal mirroring of protological and eschatological heroes as well as a remarkable parallelism between earthly and celestial counterparts. It has also been shown that even negative characters of the apocalyptic stories are part of this mirroring dynamic. Thus, in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic materials protological opponents, similar to primordial patriarchs and prophets, often appear at the end of time in their new eschatological capacity. As our study has already demonstrated, the antagonists are also affected by the spatial dynamics of the apocalyptic story as they try to mimic the attributes of celestial beings.

Yet the persuasive nature of the temporal and spatial symmetry found in the pseudepigraphical narratives also seems to be responsible for another type of symmetrical correlation that often manifests itself in the paradoxal mirroring of the roles and attributes of the protagonists and antagonists of apocalyptic stories. This type of correspondence can be seen as a sort of inverse symmetry, where the antagonist or protagonist of the story literally

takes the place of his opponent by acquiring the peculiar attributes and conditions of his counterpart.

It is well known that in Jewish apocalyptic writings some exalted heroes, including protological patriarchs and prophets, are often depicted as traveling to the upper realms where they are granted knowledge of heavenly phenomena and a vision of the divine Chariot—the pivotal visionary encounter laden with profound transformational opportunities that often leads to the metamorphosis of a seer into an angelic or even divine being. It is intriguing that in some apocalyptic accounts, this symbolism of transformation is applied not only to the "heroes" of the apocalyptic stories but also their eschatological opponents who also undergo their own paradoxal metamorphoses.[17]

Moreover, in the course of these transformations, the peculiar attributes and offices of the protagonists or antagonists become mysteriously imitated in the newly acquired offices and roles of their respective opponents. Thus, for example, in the *Book of the Watchers*, the fallen angels, the former participants in the heavenly liturgy, are depicted as abandoning their place in heavenly worship and descending to earth to assume the marital roles of humans, while their righteous human counterpart, the patriarch Enoch, ascends to heaven to become a sacerdotal servant in the heavenly Temple. The exchange between the hero and his negative counterpart(s) is clearly discernable here, as both parties are depicted as mirroring each other in their mutual exchange of offices, roles, attributes, and even wardrobes. The last feature of the transformation is particularly noteworthy since the theme of transferring the garment of the demoted angelic antagonist to an exalted human protagonist plays a very important role in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Thus, for example, in Enochic literature the seventh antediluvian patriarch receives glorious angelic attire[18] while the fallen angels are donning the human ontological "garments."[19]

In the Adamic lore one can also find this inverse symmetrical correspondence when one learns that the first humans received their unique status, manifested in the luminous garments, as a result of the demotion of an exalted angelic being who fell out of divine favor. In these traditions the protoplast takes the place, glory, and garments of the demoted angelic antagonist. One of the early examples of this tradition can be found in the *Primary Adam Books*, where the removal of Satan[20] from his special glorious place is placed in conceptual juxtaposition with the creation and exaltation of Adam.[21] Moreover, the demotion of the antagonist is accompanied not only by vacation of the exalted place, which is required for the apotheosis of a new hero, but also, and more importantly, by purification or catharsis. In this sacerdotal perspective the demoted figures are often envisioned as cosmic scapegoats who take upon themselves the "soiled garments" of their

human opponents by carrying their sins into the remote abode of their exile. Scholars often see in such cathartic routines a reflection of one of the fundamental cultic dynamics manifested in the Yom Kippur ordinance where the entrance of the human celebrant into the divine abode, represented by the Holy of Holies, is juxtaposed with the removal of human sins into the wilderness by means of the scapegoat.

This apocalyptic reinterpretation of the Yom Kippur imagery appears to play an important role in the symmetrical conceptual framework of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* where the angel Yahoel informs Abraham that he will receive the angelic garment of Azazel while the demon will take upon himself the "garment" of the patriarch's sins. In this inverse symmetrical framework, both parties are depicted as simultaneously exchanging each other's attributes since the transference of the celestial garment to the patriarch coincides with the angel's testimony that Abraham's sins are transferred to Azazel.[22] As has already been noted, a similar development is discernable in the demonological settings of the Adamic tradition where the protoplast's exaltation in the angelic community mirrors Satan's demotion from celestial citizenship.[23]

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Our short excursus into symmetrical correspondences between the antagonists and protagonists of apocalyptic stories has shown that these symmetrical correlations often revolve around two enigmatic figures who exercised formative influence on early Jewish demonology—the demoted angelic beings known to us as Azazel and Satan.[24]

While in later Jewish and Christian materials the stories of both paradigmatic antagonists are often conflated and even confused, their respective origins can be traced to two distinctive and often competing mythologies of evil—Adamic and Enochic, one of which was tied to the mishap of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and the other to the fall of angels in the antediluvian period.[25]

Thus, Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's transgression and the fall of Adam and Eve in Eden, a trend that explains the reason for Satan's demotion by his refusal to obey God's command to venerate the protoplast. In contrast, the early Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the story of the fallen Watchers led by Azazel.

It is also intriguing that while in the beginning of their conceptual journeys Azazel and Satan are posited as representatives of two distinctive and often rival trends tied to the distinctive etiologies of corruption, in later Jewish and Christian demonological lore both antagonists are able to enter each other's respective stories in new conceptual capacities. In these

later traditions Satanael is often depicted as the leader of the fallen angels while his conceptual rival Azazel is portrayed as a seducer of Adam and Eve.

The current collection of essays examines the symmetrical patterns of early Jewish demonology that are often manifested in the antagonists' imitation of the attributes of various heavenly beings, including principal angels and even the deity himself. The study will pay special attention to the sacerdotal dimension of these demonological developments and show that the peculiar transformations of the adversaries often have a cultic significance as they become unfolded in the midst of the priestly and liturgical settings of the Jewish tradition, including the Yom Kippur ceremony.

The second aspect of the study will include investigation of the mutual conceptual interactions between the Azazel and Satanael traditions in course of which the distinctive features or attributes of one antagonist become transferred to the character of the rival mythology of evil.

The discussion treats the aforementioned issues in six essays, three of which are devoted to the figure of Azazel and three others to the figure of Satanael, also known in the Slavonic pseudepigrapha under the name Satanail. This structure of the volume provides an equal amount of attention to both demonological trends.

The first essay of the collection, entitled "'The Likeness of Heaven': *Kavod* of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," explores one of Azazel's most enigmatic practices, his attempt to imitate the divine manifestation situated between two cherubim in the Holy of Holies. The study underlines the cultic aspect of this demonic transformation. Although the study mainly focuses on the motifs found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, an early Jewish apocalyptic text preserved in Slavonic, it treats the Azazel tradition in its historical and interpretive complexity through a broad variety of Jewish materials.

The second essay, "Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: The Scapegoat Ritual," continues to examine the sacerdotal dimension of the Azazel figure, namely his role as a celestial scapegoat. Already in the Bible the infamous scapegoat bearing the name Azazel is envisioned as an important sacerdotal servant on whom the heavy load of Israel's sins is bestowed during the annual Yom Kippur ceremony. The *Apocalypse of Abraham*, however, portrays Azazel not merely as a sacrificial animal but as a fallen angelic being who takes upon himself the burden of Abraham's sins, which allows the hero of the faith to enter the celestial Holy of Holies. The study suggests that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* portrays an eschatological reenactment of the Yom Kippur ritual.

The third essay of the collection, entitled "The Garment of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," probes further the cultic dimension of Jewish demonology by concentrating on the tradition of Azazel's angelic garment, which in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is transferred to the patriarch. It

appears that this endowment of Abraham with the celestial garment before his entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies betrays distinctive sacerdotal connections as it appears to be related to the traditions about the attire the high priest wore upon his entrance into the Holy of Holies. This essay also deals extensively with a parallel tradition about Satan's angelic garment found in the *Primary Adam Books* where Satan's garment of glory is also transferred to a human recipient. Analysis of this paralleled tradition provides an important conceptual bridge to the second part of the volume, which includes three essays dealing with the Satanael tradition. The essays of the second part of the volume are organized to show the development of the Satanael lore in its historical perspective. Thus, one of these essays deals with *2 Enoch*, a text written before 70 CE, another essay discusses the Satan tradition in the Gospel of Matthew written around 70 CE, and the final essay examines *3 Baruch* written in the second/third century CE.

The fourth essay of the volume (the first in the second section), entitled "The Watchers of Satanael: The Fallen Angels Traditions in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," deals with the intriguing development inside the Satanael tradition in which this demonic character acquires several peculiar roles of his conceptual rival Azazel, being now depicted as the leader of the fallen Watchers. This development shows the remarkable fluidity of the two mythologies of evil in which the features of one antagonist are often emulated by the main character of the rival trend.

The fifth essay, "Satan and the Visionary: Apocalyptic Roles of the Adversary in the Temptation Narrative of the Gospel of Matthew," deals with Satan's unusual roles and actions during his temptation of Jesus in the wilderness. The study shows that while tempting Jesus Satan assumes several peculiar roles of the transporting and interpreting angel (a psychopomp and an *angelus interpres*), the offices well known from Jewish apocalyptic stories. Moreover, Satan's request for veneration invokes some features of the theophanic accounts where such services are delivered exclusively either to the deity or his anthropomorphic icon, the protoplast.

The sixth essay, "The Flooded Arboretums: The Garden Traditions in the Slavonic Version of *3 Baruch* and the *Book of Giants*" again deals with the interaction between the two mythologies of evil in which some features of the fallen Watchers' demonological template are transferred to Satanael.

One can see that both parts of the volume are interconnected through the thorough exploration of the dialogue between the Satanael and Azazel traditions, the conceptual development that played a crucial formative role in shaping early Jewish demonology.

Part I

Azazel

"The Likeness of Heaven"

Kavod of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

> Now observe a deep and holy mystery of faith, the symbolism of the male principle and the female principle of the universe . . . there is the line where the male and female principles join, forming together the rider on the serpent, and symbolized by Azazel.
>
> —*Zohar* I.152b–153a

Introduction

Chapter 14 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first centuries CE, unveils an enigmatic tradition about the unusual power given to the main antagonist of the story, the fallen angel Azazel. In the text, Abraham's celestial guide, the angel Yahoel, warns his human apprentice, the hero of the faith, that God endowed his chief eschatological opponent Azazel with a special will and with "heaviness" against those who answer him. The reference to the mysterious "heaviness" (Slav. тягота) given to the demon has puzzled students of the Slavonic apocalypse for a long time. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz has previously suggested that the Slavonic term for "heaviness" (тягота) in this passage from *Apoc. Ab.* 14:13 possibly serves as a technical term for rendering the Hebrew word *Kavod*.[1] Rubinkiewicz has further proposed that the original text most likely had כבוד, which has the sense of "gravity" but also "glory," and had the following rendering: "the Eternal One . . . to him [Azazel] he gave the glory and power." According to Rubinkiewicz, this ambiguity lays at the basis of the Slavonic translation of the verse.[2]

It is quite possible that, given the formative influences the Book of Ezekiel exercises on the *Apocalypse of Abraham*,[3] the authors of the text

might indeed have known the *Kavod* technical terminology, which plays such an important role in the great prophetic book. Yet the transference of this peculiar theophanic imagery to an ambiguous character in the story is quite puzzling since the *Kavod* symbolism represents a very distinctive attribute reserved in the Jewish biblical and pseudepigraphic traditions almost exclusively for celestial and translated agents to signal their divine status. Could this strange tradition about the glory of Azazel suggest that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse sought to envision the fallen angel as a kind of negative counterpart of the deity who enjoys his own "exalted" attributes that mimic and emulate divine attributes?

A closer look at the pseudepigraphon reveals that such a dualistically symmetrical symbolism is not only confined to the description of the fallen angel and his unusual attributes. It also represents one of the main ideological tendencies of the Slavonic apocalypse. Several scholars have previously noted this peculiarity of the theological universe of the Slavonic apocalypse, which reveals the paradoxal symmetry of the good and evil realms: the domains which, in the Abrahamic pseudepigraphon, seem depicted as emulating and mirroring each other.

It has been previously argued that the striking prevalence of such dualistic symmetrical patterns permeating the fabric of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* can be seen as one of the most controversial and puzzling features of the text.[4] It should be noted that the dualistic currents are present mostly in the second, apocalyptic portion of the text where the hero of the faith receives an enigmatic revelation from the deity about the unusual powers given to Azazel.

Reflecting on these conceptual developments, Michael Stone draws attention to the traditions found in chapters 20, 22, and 29, where the reference to Azazel's rule, which he exercises jointly with God over the world, coincides "with the idea that God granted him authority over the wicked."[5] Stone suggests that "these ideas are clearly dualistic in nature."[6]

John Collins explores another cluster of peculiar depictions repeatedly found in the second part of the *Apocalypse*, in which humankind is divided into two parts, half on the right and half on the left, representing respectively the chosen people and the Gentiles. These portions of humanity are labeled in the text as the lot of God and the lot of Azazel. Collins argues that "the symmetrical division suggests a dualistic view of the world."[7] He further observes that "the nature and extent of this dualism constitute the most controversial problem in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*."[8]

Ryszard Rubinkiewicz, while denying the presence of "absolute" or "ontological"[9] dualism in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, admits that the pseudepigraphon exhibits some dualistic tendencies in its ethical, spatial, and temporal dimensions.[10]

Yet, in contrast to Rubinkiewicz's opinion, George Box sees in these spatial and temporal dimensions the main signs of the "radical dualism" of the apocalypse. He maintains that "the radical dualism of the Book comes out not only in the sharp division of mankind into two hosts, which stands for Jewry and heathendom respectively, but also in the clearly defined contradistinction of two ages, the present Age of ungodliness and the future Age of righteousness."[11]

Another distinguished student of the Slavonic text, Marc Philonenko, in his analysis of the symmetrical nature of the positions of Yahoel and Azazel,[12] notes the peculiarity of the interaction between these two spirits, one good and one malevolent. He observes that their battle does not occur directly, but rather through the medium of a human being, Abraham. Abraham is thus envisioned in the pseudepigraphon as a place where the battle between two spiritual forces unfolds.[13] Philonenko sees in this anthropological internalization a peculiar mold of the dualism that is also present in the Qumran materials, including the *Instruction on the Two Spirits* (1QS 3:13–4:26) where the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness are fighting in the heart of man.[14]

The aforementioned scholarly suggestions about the dualistic tendencies of the apocalypse, which seems to envision a symmetrical correspondence between the divine and demonic realms, the worlds of God and of Azazel, are intriguing and deserve further investigation. The current study will attempt to explore some dualistic symmetrical patterns found in the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, concentrating mainly on the peculiar theophanic imagery surrounding the figure of the main antagonist of the text, the demon Azazel.

The Inheritance of Azazel

The traditions about the two eschatological lots or portions of humanity found in the second part of the text have captivated the imagination of scholars for a long time. In these fascinating descriptions, students of the Abrahamic pseudepigraphon have often tried to discern possible connections with the dualistic developments found in some Qumran materials, where the imagery of the two eschatological lots played a significant role. Indeed, in the Dead Sea Scrolls one can find a broad appropriation of the imagery of the two portions of humanity, which are often depicted there in striking opposition to each other in the final decisive battle. It has been frequently noted that the peculiar symbolism of the eschatological parties often takes the form of dualistic symmetrical counterparts, as these groups are repeatedly described in the Dead Sea Scrolls through metaphoric depictions involving the dichotomies of darkness and light, good and evil, election and rejection.

This dualistic "mirroring" is also often underscored by the symbolic profiles of the main leaders of the eschatological "lots," whose peculiar sobriquets often negatively or positively reflect, or even polemically deconstruct, the names of their respective eschatological rivals: Melchizedek and Melchireša^{c}, the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness.

The peculiar imagery of the eschatological portions of humanity is also manifested in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Graphic depictions of the two lots are widely dispersed in the second, apocalyptic, part of the pseudepigraphon. Scholars have previously noted that the peculiar conceptual elaborations that surround these portrayals of the portions appear to be reminiscent not only of the eschatological reinterpretations and terminology found in the Qumran materials,[15] but also of the peculiar imagery of sacrificial lots prominent in the Yom Kippur ritual,[16] the ordinance described in detail in some biblical and rabbinic accounts.[17] Thus, it has been previously observed that the word *lot* (Slav. часть) found in the Slavonic text appears to be connected to the Hebrew גורל, a term prominent in some cultic descriptions found in biblical and rabbinic accounts,[18] as well as in the eschatological developments attested in the Qumran materials.[19]

Similar to the Qumran materials where the lots are linked to the fallen angelic figures or translated heroes (such as Belial or Melchizedek), in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the portions of humanity are now tied to the main characters of the story—the fallen angel Azazel[20] and the translated patriarch Abraham.[21]

It is also noteworthy that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, similar to the Qumran materials,[22] the positive lot is designated sometimes as the lot of the deity—"my [God's] lot":

> And the Eternal Mighty One said to me, "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said, "Here am I!" And he said, "Look from on high at the stars which are beneath you and count them for me and tell me their number!" And I said, "Would I be able? For I am [but] a man." And he said to me, "As the number of the stars and their host, so shall I make your seed into a company of nations, set apart for me in my lot with Azazel."[23]

While the similarities of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* with the Qumran materials were often noted and highlighted in previous scholarly studies, the differences in the descriptions of the eschatological lots and their respective leaders have often been neglected. Yet it is quite possible that the dualistic imagery of the eschatological portions might receive an even more radical form in the Slavonic apocalypse than in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Indeed, it seems that the Slavonic pseudepigraphon attempts to transfer to the antagonist and to his lot some of the notions and attributes that in

the Qumran materials remain reserved solely for the domain of the positive portion of humanity. One such notion includes the concept of "inheritance," the term that plays an important role both in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Slavonic apocalypse.

Thus, the passage found in chapter 14 of the pseudepigraphon unveils the following enigmatic tradition about the very special "inheritance" given to the fallen angel Azazel:[24]

> Since *your inheritance* (**достояние твое**) are those who are with you, with men born with the stars and clouds. And *their portion is you* (**ихъже часть еси ты**).[25]

The striking feature of this account is that in *Apoc. Ab.* 14:6 the concept of the eschatological "lot" or "portion" (Slav. **часть**)[26] of Azazel appears to be used interchangeably with the notion of "inheritance" (Slav. **достояние**).

This terminological connection is intriguing since the two notions, "inheritance" and "lot," are also used interchangeably in the Qumran passages that deal with the "lot" imagery. Thus, for example, 11Q13 speaks about "inheritance" referring to the portion of Melchizedek that will be victorious in the eschatological ordeal:

> . . . and from the *inheritance* of Melchizedek, fo[r . . .] . . . and they are the *inherita[nce* of Melchize]dek, who will make them return. And the d[ay of aton]ement is the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee in which atonement shall be made for all the sons of [light and] for the men [of] the lot of Mel[chi]zedek.[27]

In 1QS 3:13–4:26, in the fragment also known as the *Instruction on the Two Spirits* the imagery of inheritance is tied to the concept of the lot of the righteous:

> [T]hey walk in wisdom or in folly. In agreement with man's *inheritance* in the truth, he shall be righteous and so abhor injustice; and according to his share in the lot of injustice, he shall act wickedly in it, and so abhor the truth.[28]

In 1QS 11:7–8 and CD 13:11–12 this concept of inheritance is once again connected with participation in the lot of light, also labeled in 1QS as "the lot of the holy ones":[29]

> To those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; and he has given them an *inheritance* in the lot of the holy ones. (1QS 11:7–8).[30]

> And everyone who joins his congregation, he should examine, concerning his actions, his intelligence, his strength, his courage and his wealth; and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his *inheritance* in the lot of light. (CD-A 13:11–12).[31]

In these last two texts the concept of "inheritance" appears to be understood as the act of participation in the eschatological lot rendered through the formulae "inheritance in the lot" (Heb. נחלתו בגורל).[32] The same idea seems to be at work in the aforementioned passage from *Apoc. Ab.* 14:6 where "inheritance" is understood as participation in the lot of Azazel.

Yet despite the similarities, one striking difference between these texts is discernable: while in the Qumran materials the "inheritance" appears to be connected with the divine lot, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* it is unambiguously tied to the lot of Azazel.

This transference of the notion of "inheritance"—the concept that plays such an important role in the Qumran ideology—under the umbrella of the lot of Azazel in the *Apoc. Ab.*, is striking. It brings the dualistic ideology of the Jewish pseudepigraphon to an entirely new conceptual level in comparison with the dualistic developments found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

This new conceptual advancement appears also to have a strong influence on the profile of the main antagonist of the text, the fallen angel Azazel who, in comparison with the eschatological opponents of the Dead Sea Scrolls, now becomes not just one of the characters in the gallery of many eschatological opponents but the adversary *par excellence*. In this respect Lester Grabbe suggests that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* seems to be referring to the "basic arch-demon complex under the name of Azazel."[33] In his opinion, in the Slavonic apocalypse "Azazel is no longer just a leader among the fallen angels but *the* leader of the demons. Figures originally separate have now fallen together while the various names have become only different aliases of the one devil."[34]

Such mythological consolidation affecting the profile of the main eschatological opponent advances the dualistic thrust of the Slavonic apocalypse and helps to secure Azazel's confrontational stand not only toward Yahoel and Abraham but, more importantly, toward the deity.

The Theophany of Azazel

The second, apocalyptic, section of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon begins with a series of cryptic portrayals unveiling the striking appearance and the spectacular offices of Abraham's celestial guide, the angel Yahoel. Yet in comparison with these disclosures about the great celestial being, the figure of another important character in the story, the main adversary of

the text, the fallen angel Azazel, is shrouded in a cluster of even more ambiguous and enigmatic descriptions. For unknown reasons, possibly viewing the arch-demon's figure as providing one of the conceptual clues to understanding the mystery of the theological universe of the text, the authors of the pseudepigraphon appear very reluctant to unveil and clarify the exact status of their mysterious antihero, instead offering to their readers the rich tapestry of arcane traditions embroidered with the most recondite imagery that can be found in the apocalypse.

Yet despite the aura of concealment that envelops the cryptic profile of the arch-demon, the cosmic significance of this perplexing character peeps through various details of the story. Thus, the very first lines of chapter 13, which introduce Azazel to the audience, appear to hint at him as a figure with a very special authority. His bold descent on the sacrifices of the hero of the faith does not appear coincidental; the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse may want to signal to their readers that Azazel is not merely an abandoned, demoted creature, but rather an object of worship, veneration, and sacrificial devotion, who possibly possesses an exalted status and place that negatively replicate and mimic the authority and position of the deity.

Many previous studies have shown conceptual links between Azazel and Abraham,[35] as well as parallels between Azazel and Yahoel.[36] Yet despite the significance of these comparative studies, which have been able to clarify conceptual symmetry between positive and negative protagonists of the story, scholars have often neglected another portentous parallelism found in the text—that is, the correspondence in the roles and attributes between the deity and the demon. The initial sign of this baffling dualistic symmetry appears already to be hinted at in the depictions of the eschatological lots, where the portion of Azazel is explicitly compared with the lot of the Almighty. Yet this juxtaposition between the fallen angel and the Divinity can be considered as rather schematic. In this correspondence between the two portions of humanity, one belonging to God and the other to the demon, one might see a merely metaphorical distinction that does not intend to fully match the status and the attributes of the deity with the condition of Azazel; rather, it simply hints at the demon's temporary role in the eschatological opposition. A closer analysis of the text, however, reveals that the comparisons between God and Azazel have much broader conceptual ramifications that appear to transcend a purely metaphorical level, as the depictions of both characters unveil striking theophanic similarities. An important feature in this respect is the peculiar imagery of the epiphanies of both characters unfolding in the special circumstances of their fiery realms.

It is intriguing that in the text, where the theophanic manifestations of the deity are repeatedly portrayed as appearing in the midst of flames, the presence of Azazel is also conveyed through similar imagery.

It has been previously noted that the imagery of fire plays an important conceptual role in the Slavonic apocalypse.[37] It is often envisioned there as the substance predestined to examine the authenticity of things and to test their eternal status. *Apoc. Ab.* 7:2 relates that "the fire mocks with its flames the things that perish easily."[38] Both animate and inanimate characters of the story, including the infamous idols and their blasphemous makers, are depicted in the text as undergoing fiery probes—the ominous tests that often lead them into their final catastrophic demise. Thus, by means of fire, the young hero of the faith "tests" the wooden stature of his father, the idol Bar-Eshath, which the flames turn into a pile of ashes. Further, the craftsmen of the idolatrous figures themselves are not exempted from the fiery probes' scrutiny. The first haggadic section of the text concludes with the blazing ordeal during which the workshop of Terah is obliterated by fire sent by God. Later, in the second, apocalyptic, section of the work, the patriarch Abraham himself undergoes multiple fiery tests during his progress into the upper heaven. All these remarkable instances of the fiery annihilations of certain characters of the story, and miraculous survivals of others, do not appear coincidental. Scholars have previously noted that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as in several other apocalyptic texts, including Daniel 3 or Ezekiel 28, fire serves as the ultimate test for distinguishing inauthentic and idolatrous representations of the Divinity from its true counterparts. In accordance with this belief, which often envisions the endurance of the "true" things in the flames, the very presence of the deity is repeatedly portrayed in the text as situated in the stream of fire. Thus, already in chapter 8, which marks a transition to the apocalyptic section of the work and narrates the patriarch's response to the divine call in the courtyard of Terah's house, the divine presence is depicted as "the voice of the Mighty One" coming down in a stream of fire.[39] This self-disclosure of God in the midst of the theophanic furnace becomes then a standard description adopted by the author(s) of the apocalypse to convey manifestations of the deity.[40]

In view of these peculiar theophanic tenets of the pseudepigraphon, it is intriguing that some eschatological manifestations of Azazel, similar to the epiphanies of the deity, are depicted with fiery imagery.

Although in chapter 13 the patriarch sees Azazel in the form of an unclean bird, the apocalypse makes clear that this appearance does not reflect the true appearance of the demon, whose proper domain is designated several times in the text as situated in the subterranean realm.[41] What is striking is that in the antagonist's authentic abode, in the belly of the earth, the domicile of the great demon is fashioned with the same peculiar visual markers as the abode of the deity—that is, as being situated in the midst of the theophanic furnace.

Thus, in Yahoel's speech found in chapter 14, which reveals the true place of the chief antagonist, the arch-demon's abode is designated

as the furnace of the earth.[42] Moreover, Azazel himself is portrayed as the "burning coal" or the "firebrand" of this infernal kiln.[43] This depiction of Azazel glowing in the furnace of his own domain is intriguing. It evokes the peculiar memory of the fiery nature of the divine abode, which, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* is portrayed as the upper furnace. The fiery nature of the heavenly plane is underlined multiple times in the text. It is notable that the seer's progress into the domain of the deity is portrayed as his movement into the fiery realm. Thus, in *Apoc. Ab.* 15:3, the transition of the hero and his guiding angel through the border of the heavenly realm is portrayed as an entrance into fire: "[A]nd he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flame. And we ascended like great winds to the heaven which was fixed on the expanses."[44]

Then, in chapter 17, the readers again encounter this terrifying presence of the celestial furnace as the flames envelop the visionary and his celestial guide on their progress to the abode of the deity:

> And while he was still speaking, behold, a fire was coming toward us round about, and a sound was in the fire like a sound of many waters, like a sound of the sea in its uproar. (*Apoc. Ab.* 17:1).[45]

In 18:1, upon his entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies, the visionary again passes another fiery threshold: "[W]hile I was still reciting the song, the edge of the fire which was on the expanse rose up on high."[46]

The fiery apotheosis reaches its pinnacle in chapter 18 where the patriarch sees the deity's heavenly throne room. There, in the utmost concealed theophanic locale, the seer beholds the very seat of the deity fashioned from the substance of fire: "And as the fire rose up, soaring higher, I saw under the fire a throne [made] of fire and the many-eyed Wheels" (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3).[47] This fiery nexus of the divine presence paradoxically parallels the fiery nature of the antagonist's subterranean abode.

This striking imagery brings us back to the Azazel tradition found in *Apoc. Ab.* 14:5 where, according to some scholars, the demonic presence is fashioned as the fire of Hell.[48] This identification of Azazel's essence through the imagery of the subterranean flames is intriguing in view of the aforementioned conceptual currents in which fire serves as a distinctive theophanic medium, expressing the very presence of the deity. Similar to the deity who is depicted as the fire of heaven enthroned on the seat of flames, the demon is portrayed as the fire of the underworld.

In this respect it is also noteworthy that, similar to the divine Voice, the main theophanic expression of the deity in the book, which is depicted as coming in a stream of fire, Azazel's aural expression is also conveyed through similar fiery symbolism. Thus, *Apoc. Ab.* 31:5 speaks about "the fire of Azazel's tongue" (Slav. **огонь языка Азазилова**):

> And those who *followed after the idols* and after their murders will rot in the womb of the Evil One—the belly of Azazel, and *they will be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue* (палими огнемъ языка Азазилова).[49]

It is also interesting that, like the fire of God that destroys the idols and idolaters alike in its flames,[50] the fire issuing from Azazel has power to destroy those who "follow after the idols." Though it is not entirely clear in this context if the fire of Azazel is the fire of God, since in *Apoc. Ab.* 31:3, the deity says that he has destined those who "mocked" him "to be food for the fire of hell, and ceaseless soaring in the air of the underground depths."[51]

The *Kavod* of Azazel

Our previous exploration of the features of the text's infamous antagonist showed that the authors of the apocalypse appear to envision Azazel as the one who possesses theophanic attributes that mimic the attributes of the deity.

The impressive cluster of enigmatic traditions about the attributes and offices of the fallen angel that closely resemble their divine counterparts reaches its new paradoxal shape in chapter 23, where the hero of the faith receives a vision of the protological scene portraying the demon's corruption of the protoplasts.

Before examining this puzzling scene, something must be said about the peculiar arrangement of the patriarch's vision, during which the exalted hero of the faith literally gazes into the abyss from the heights of his most exalted position near the Throne of the deity. This enigmatic setting seems to provide further support for the dualistic framework of the text with its repeated parallelism of the lower and upper realms.

In the beginning of this mysterious vision, the deity orders the seer to look beneath his feet and "contemplate the creation." The apocalypse then portrays Abraham looking beneath the expanse at his feet and beholding what the text calls the "likeness of heaven."[52] This reference to the "likeness of heaven" (Slav. подобие неба)[53] has baffled the imagination of many scholars[54] because of the authors' decision to situate under the category of the "resemblance of heaven" the vision of the corrupted domain belonging to Azazel:

> And I looked beneath the expanse at my feet and I saw *the likeness of heaven* (подобие неба) and what was therein. And [I saw] there the earth and its fruits, and its moving ones, and its spiritual ones, and its host of men and their spiritual impieties, and their justifications, <and the pursuits of their works,> and

> the abyss and its torment, and its lower depths, and the perdition which is in it. And I saw there the sea and its island<s>, and its animals and its fishes, and Leviathan and his domain, and his lair, and his dens, and the world which lies upon him, and his motions and the destruction of the world because of him. (*Apoc. Ab.* 21:2–4).[55]

In this mysterious vision, which the patriarch receives from the highest heaven gazing down into the abyss, the reader encounters another dazzling illustration of the dualistic vision of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

Yet the most puzzling disclosure in the cluster of these mysterious expositions about the "likeness of heaven" follows farther along in chapter 23, where the visionary beholds Azazel's appearance under the paradisal Tree.

Apoc. Ab. 23:4–11 unveils the following enigmatic tradition that draws on peculiar protological imagery:

> And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, *entwined* (**съплетшася**) with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine. And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left. And he was holding in his hands the grapes of the tree and feeding the two whom I saw entwined with each other. And I said, "Who are these two *entwined* (**съплетшася**) with each other, or who is this between them, or what is the fruit which they are eating, Mighty Eternal One?" And he said, "This is the reason of men, this is Adam, and this is their desire on earth, this is Eve. And he who is in between them is the Impiety of their pursuits for destruction, Azazel himself."[56]

In this vision, which the patriarch receives while standing at the place of God's theophany near the divine Throne, Abraham beholds Azazel's protological manifestation in the lower realm where the demon's presence is placed in the midst of the protoplasts. The depiction is also interesting in that it renders the abode of Azazel through the primordial imagery of the Tree situated in the Garden of Eden.

There are no doubts that the text offers to its audience the portrayal of the infamous Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil—the arboreal symbol of the protological corruption of the first human couple. The peculiar

features of the scene, and the reference to the "grapes of vine" as the fruit of the Tree, bring to memory the cluster of familiar motifs associated in the Jewish lore with the legendary paradisal plant. While some features of the scene look familiar, others are not. One novel detail baffling the reader's imagination is the portrayal of Azazel *between* the intertwined protoplasts under the Tree.

This intriguing tradition has long puzzled students of the Slavonic apocalypse. Although the imagery of the intertwined protoplasts is known from Jewish and Christian lore about the serpentine Eve,[57] the depiction found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appears to unveil some novel, perplexing symbolism. Some scholars have noted an erotic dimension in this portrayal suggesting that the demon and the intertwined protoplasts form here some sort of a *ménage à trois*.[58] What might be the theological significance of this ominous intercourse involving the demonic spirit and the human couple?

Is it possible that, in this scene depicting an enigmatic union of the arch-demon and the protoplasts, one might have not merely a scandalous illustration of the protological corruption of the first humans, but also the disclosure of one of the most mysterious and controversial epiphanies of Azazel? If it is indeed possible, then here, as in some biblical and pseudepigraphic accounts, the erotic imagery and the symbolism of the conjugal union might be laden with theophanic significance.

Moreover, if the epiphanic angle is indeed present in the protological scene, the arboreal imagery also appears to contribute to this theological dimension. In this respect, the peculiar details of Azazel's position between the protoplasts *under the Tree* might be invoking the memory of a peculiar theophanic trend related to another prominent plant of the Garden of Eden, the Tree of Life.

In Jewish lore the Tree of Life often has a theophanic significance described as the very special arboreal abode of the deity. In these traditions God is depicted as resting on the cherub beneath the Tree of Life. These traditions are found in a number of apocalyptic and mystical accounts. Thus, for example, the Greek version[59] of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 22:3–4 connects the theophany of the deity with the Tree of Life:

> As God entered [the Garden,] the plants of Adam's portion flowered but all mine were bereft of flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.[60]

A similar tradition is also found in *2 En.* 8:3–4 where the Tree of Life again is described as the abode of God:

> And in the midst (of them was) the tree of life, at that place where the Lord takes a rest when he goes into paradise. And

> that tree is indescribable for pleasantness and fine fragrance, and more beautiful than any (other) created thing that exists. And from every direction it has an appearance which is gold-looking and crimson, and with the form of fire. And it covers the whole of Paradise. (*2 En.* 8:3–4, the longer recension).[61]

The tradition of the Divinity dwelling on the cherub under the Tree of Life was not forgotten in later Jewish mysticism where God's very presence, his *Shekhinah*, is portrayed as resting on a cherub beneath the Tree of Life. *3 En.* 5:1 unveils the following tradition:

> R. Ishmael said: Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to me: From the day that the Holy One, blessed be he, banished the first man from the garden of Eden, the Shekhinah resided on a cherub beneath the tree of life.[62]

A striking feature of this account is that here, as in the classic Ezekelian accounts, the cherubic creature represents the "angelic furniture" that functions as the seat of the deity.

It is also intriguing that in the later Jewish mysticism it is not only the Tree of Life but also the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, that receives similar epiphanic reinterpretation, being envisioned as the symmetrical theophanic locale with its own cherubic servants.

Thus, for example, the *Book of Zohar* I.237a unveils the following enigmatic tradition about the symmetry of the upper and lower cherubim explicitly associating the former with the Tree of Sin and Corruption:

> Adam was punished for his sin, and brought death upon himself and all the world, and caused that tree in regard to which he sinned to be driven out along with him and his descendants for ever. It says further that God "placed the cherubim on the east of the garden of Eden"; these were the lower cherubim, for as there are cherubim above, so there are cherubim below, and *he spread this tree over them.*[63]

This passage is striking since it brings to memory the Tree of Knowledge found in the Slavonic apocalypse, which provided the shadow for the protological couple holding in their midst the presence of Azazel. It is noteworthy that in the passage from the *Zohar* the Tree of Knowledge is now unambiguously associated with the angelic servants, designated as the "lower cherubim."

Keeping in mind this cryptic tradition about the cherubic servants, it is now time to return to the protological scene found in the Slavonic

apocalypse. The subtle allusions to the cherubic imagery might also be present in Azazel's epiphany in *Apoc. Ab.* 23:4–11, where he is depicted under the Tree of Knowledge in the midst of the protoplasts. What is intriguing in the description of Azazel here is that the presence of the evil spirit is manifested in the connubial union of the intertwined couple.

It should be noted that the imagery of the intertwined primordial couple holding the presence of the spiritual agent is quite unique in the Adamic lore. Yet it invokes the memory of another important theophanic tradition of the divine presence, where God's presence is portrayed through the imagery of the intertwined cherubic pair in the Holy of Holies.

The treatise *Yoma* of the Babylonian Talmud contains two passages that offer striking, if not scandalous, descriptions of the intertwisted cherubim in the Holy of Holies. Thus, *b. Yoma* 54a reads:

> R. Kattina said: Whenever Israel came up to the Festival, the curtain would be removed for them and the Cherubim were shown to them, whose bodies were intertwisted with one another, and they would be thus addressed: Look! You are beloved before God as the love between man and woman.[64]

This obscure passage relates an erotic union of the cherubic angelic servants holding the presence of the deity. One might see here later rabbinic innovations, which are far distant, or maybe even completely divorced, from the early biblical tradition of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies. Still, scholars have previously noted that early biblical accounts already hint at the ambiguous "proximity" of the famous cherubic pair. Rachel Elior notes that in some biblical materials "descriptions of them usually imply a posture characterized by reciprocity or contact: 'they faced each other,'[65] or also 'their wings touched each other'[66] or were even joined[67] together."[68] While the early traditions about the cherubim found "both in the Bible and elsewhere, imply varying degrees of proximity and contact—later tradition was more explicit, clearly indicating the identity of the cherubim as a mythical symbolization of reproduction[69] and fertility, expressed in the form of intertwined male and female."[70]

In *b. Yoma* 54b the tradition of the intertwisted cherubim is repeated again:

> Resh Lakish said: When the heathens entered the Temple and saw the Cherubim whose bodies were intertwisted with one another, they carried them out and said: These Israelites, whose blessing is a blessing, and whose curse is a curse, occupy themselves with such things! And immediately they despised them, as it is said:

> All that honored her, despised her, because they have seen her nakedness.[71]

Rachel Elior argues that the description of the intertwined cherubim found in the Talmud suggests "a cultic, mystical representation of myths of *hieros gamos*, the sacred union or heavenly matrimony."[72] It is also apparent that this veiled imagery of the cherubic union has theophanic significance as it expresses in itself the manifestation of the divine presence—the feature especially evident in *b. Yoma* 54a with its motifs of the removal of the curtain and the revelation of the cherubim on Yom Kippur. It is therefore clear that the tradition of the intertwined cherubim is envisioned here as a theophanic symbol.

In view of these developments, it is quite possible that this theophanic dimension of the conjugal union might be also negatively evoked in the depiction of the intertwined protoplasts in chapter 23 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Could it be possible that the erotic ordeal of the protological couple holding in their midst the presence of Azazel somehow serves as a negative counterpart of the cherubic couple holding the divine presence in the Holy of Holies? Can Adam and Eve be understood here as the "lower cherubim" overshadowed by the Tree of Knowledge, the Adamic tradition explicitly articulated in *Zohar* 1.237, and maybe already hinted at in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*?

What is also fascinating in the veiled description in chapter 23 is that the mysterious shape of Azazel situated under the Tree appears in itself to point to the unity of the cherubic couple, as his form combines some attributes of the two cherubim joined together.[73] The passage says that the demon has twelve wings—six on the right side of his body and six on the left side:[74]

> And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left.[75]

It is noteworthy that earlier in the text, when Abraham sees the "Living Creatures of the Cherubim" in the heavenly Throne Room, he reports that each of them has six wings:

> And under the throne [I saw] four singing fiery Living Creatures . . . and each one had six wings: from their shoulders, <and from their sides,> and from their loins. (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3–6).[76]

These baffling attributes of the demon are intriguing and, in view of the aforementioned theophanic traditions, it is possible that Azazel here

attempts to mimic the divine presence represented by the cherubic couple in the Holy of Holies by offering his own demonic version of the sacred matrimony.[77] Here the Adversary, who according to the Slavonic apocalypse appears to have his own *Kavod*,[78] given to him by God, possibly intends to fashion his own presence in a dualistic symmetrical correlation with the divine theophany that takes place between two intertwined angelic creatures.

Conclusion

In conclusion of our study of the dualistic tendencies found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, we should say that the exact nature and possible sources of these conceptual developments remain shrouded in mystery. A number of studies have previously sought to explicate the dualistic tenets found in the Slavonic translations of several pseudepigraphical works, including the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and *2 Enoch*, through their alleged connections with the Bogomil movement, a dualistic sect that flourished in the Balkans in the late middle ages. These studies argued that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* might contain Bogomil dualistic interpolations.[79] Recent scholarship, however, is increasingly skeptical of such radical proposals and generally finds little or no connection between the aforementioned pseudepigrapha and the Bogomil movement.[80]

Our research helps further question the validity of the "Bogomil hypothesis," noting the conceptual complexity of the dualistic tenets in the Slavonic apocalypse and their reliance on authentic Jewish traditions. The consistency and paramount significance of these developments for the overall conceptual framework of the pseudepigraphon suggests that they do not represent secondary additions and interpolations, but rather embody the main theological tendency of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon. This peculiar ideological trend shows remarkable similarities to the Palestinian dualism reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the dualistic currents manifested in the later Jewish mystical literature.[81]

In view of these prominent developments, it is quite possible that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in itself can represent an important conceptual bridge between the early Palestinian dualistic currents found in the Qumran documents and their later rabbinic counterparts. Additional investigation of the dualistic profile of the text's chief antagonist will further clarify the true extent and nature of these significant theological advancements in the Slavonic apocalypse.

Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

The Scapegoat Ritual

> [A]nd as the priest casts lots below so the Priest casts lots above; and just as below one is left for the Holy One and one is thrust out to the wilderness, so above one remains with the Holy One, blessed be He, and one goes forth into the supernal wilderness.
>
> —*Zohar* III.63a

Introduction

In the second part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* its hero—the patriarch Abraham–encounters an angelic being appointed by God to be his celestial guide. This creature, named in the apocalypse as the angel Yahoel, baffles the seer's imagination with his enigmatic appearance. The text describes him as a composite pteromorphic being with a body shining like sapphire[1] and a face resembling chrysolite.[2] The wardrobe of the angel also appears wondrous. Dressed in purple garments, he wears a turban reminiscent of "the bow in the clouds."[3] Abraham also sees a golden staff in the right hand of his celestial companion.

Scholars have previously noted the sacerdotal significance of the angel's attire.[4] Thus, Martha Himmelfarb argues that Yahoel's "wardrobe has strong priestly associations. The linen band around his head recalls Aaron's headdress[5] of fine linen (Exod 28:39)."[6] Other details of the angel's appearance also reveal his connections with the priestly office. Himmelfarb reminds us that the purple of Yahoel's robe betrays connections to one of the colors of the high priestly garments of Exodus 28.[7] The angel's golden staff also seems to have a sacerdotal meaning, invoking the memory of Aaron's rod which

miraculously sprouted in the wilderness after Korah's rebellion "to indicate the choice of Aaron and his descendants as priests (Num 17:16–26)."[8]

Himmelfarb also brings attention to the rainbow-like appearance of Yahoel's turban, which, in her opinion, "brings together the two central color schemes employed elsewhere in the description of God as high priest, whiteness and the multicolored glow."[9]

Indeed, the tradition about "the rainbow in the cloud" associated with the headgear of the highest ranking sacerdotal servant is known from several texts, including the description of the high priest Simon in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira 50:7.[10] Later rabbinic traditions[11] describe the high priest's front-plate (ציץ), which he wore on his forehead.[12] Made of gold and inscribed with the divine Name, the plate shone like a rainbow.[13]

The priestly affiliations of Abraham's celestial guide are not coincidental. He appears in the crucial juncture of the story at which the young hero of the faith has just left his father's destroyed sanctuary, which had been polluted by idolatrous worship, and is now called by God "to set a pure sacrifice" before the deity. In this respect Yahoel appears to be envisioned in the text not merely as an *angelus interpres* whose role is to guide a visionary on his heavenly journey, but as a priestly figure initiating an apprentice into celestial sacerdotal praxis. Scholars have previously reflected on the peculiar cultic routine that surrounds the relationship between Abraham and his celestial guide as he explains to the seer how to prepare the sacrifices, deliver praise to the deity, and enter the heavenly Throne room. Indeed, the intensity of these sacerdotal instructions and preparations hints at the importance of priestly praxis for the overall conceptual framework of the text. It also appears that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as in many other Jewish accounts, including *1 Enoch* 14 and the *Testament of Levi* 8, the entrance of a seer into the celestial realm reveals the cultic dimension and is envisioned as a visitation of the heavenly Temple. Thus, scholars have previously noted that the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* seem to view heaven as a temple.[14] This emphasis on the links of priestly praxis with the heavenly sanctuary[15] does not appear coincidental in such a text as the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which was written in a very special period of Jewish history. It was a time when, faced with a wide array of challenges revolving around the loss of the terrestrial sanctuary, the authors of the Jewish apocalyptic writings were seeking various theological alternatives for preserving and perpetuating traditional priestly practices. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* is drawing on one such option connected with the idea of the celestial sanctuary represented by the divine Chariot when it offers the story of the young hero of the faith who travels from the destroyed terrestrial shrine polluted by idols to the heavenly Temple.

Indeed, priestly concerns permeate not only the second apocalyptic section of the text, which deals with the patriarch's transition into the heavenly realm, but the fabric of the entire pseudepigraphon.[16] It has also been previously noted that besides Yahoel, whom the text envisions as the heavenly high priest *par excellence*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* offers an extensive roster of other priestly characters, including "fallen" priests culpable for perverting true worship and polluting heavenly and terrestrial shrines. Thus, Daniel Harlow observes that besides the two "positive" priestly servants represented by the high priest Yahoel and his priestly apprentice Abraham, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* also offers a gallery of negative priestly figures, including the "idolatrous priests" Terah and Nahor[17] as well as the "fallen priest" Azazel.[18] Harlow's observation is sound and one can safely assume that all the major characters of the Slavonic apocalypse have priestly affiliations.

All these details demonstrate the importance of priestly praxis in the conceptual framework of the Slavonic apocalypse, a work written at a time overshadowed by the challenging quest for priestly and liturgical options that could compensate for the loss of the terrestrial sanctuary.

While identifying the priestly settings of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* does not pose significant difficulties, understanding the relationship between these sacerdotal rituals and initiations and a particular cultic setting or festival is more challenging. To what kind of Jewish festival might the order of Abraham's sacrifices and initiations be related? Several possibilities have been entertained. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz suggests that the priestly initiations of Abraham could be connected with the feast of *Shavuot* or Pentecost, which commemorates the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai.[19] To support this hypothesis, Rubinkiewicz appeals to certain "Mosaic" details of Abraham's priestly initiation, including references to the seer's forty-day fast and the naming of the place of the patriarch's sacrifices as Horeb.

While these hints of a *Shavuot* setting are valid, given the aforementioned complexity of the sacerdotal universe of the Slavonic apocalypse, it is possible that the priestly traditions found in the text are not limited to only one particular setting or festival but possibly reflect connections with several events of the liturgical year. Thus, some other symbolic features of the Slavonic apocalypse, including the figure of the main antagonist of the story, Azazel, as well as pervasive usage of the terminology of two lots, suggest that the imagery of the distinctive rites taking place on the Day of Atonement might play a significant role in the authors' theological worldview.

This chapter examines the peculiar priestly traditions found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* that might reflect a Yom Kippur liturgical setting. The study will also try to show that some portions of the second, apocalyptic part

of the pseudepigraphon can be seen as a reenactment of the Yom Kippur ritual, one of the most enigmatic cultic ceremonies of the Jewish tradition.

Mosaic Background of Abraham's Priestly Initiations and the Day of Atonement

Chapters 9–12 describe the beginning of Abraham's priestly initiation, during which Yahoel teaches the young hero of the faith how to prepare sacrifices in order to enter the presence of the deity. Scholars have previously observed that some details of this initiation recall the story of another remarkable visionary of the Jewish tradition—the son of Amram, the seer who was privileged to receive a very special revelation on Mount Sinai.

As was already mentioned, the liturgical setting of Abraham's priestly initiation might be related to the Festival of Weeks—*Shavuot* or Pentecost.[20] This feast celebrates Moses's reception of revelation at Mount Sinai and is also known in Jewish tradition as the Festival of the Giving of Our Torah.

Indeed, as many scholars have already noted, some motifs found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appear to reflect the peculiar details surrounding the reception of the Torah on Sinai by the great Israelite prophet. One of the distinctive hints here for establishing the connection with the Mosaic traditions is the theme of Abraham's forty-day fast.

This motif is first introduced in *Apoc. Ab.* 9:7, where God orders Abraham to hold a strict fast for forty days.[21] It is noteworthy that, as in the Mosaic traditions, so in the Slavonic apocalypse this fast coincides with the promise of a divine revelation on a high mountain:

> But for forty days abstain from every food which issues from fire, and from the drinking of wine, and from anointing [yourself] with oil. And then you shall set out for me the sacrifice which I have commanded you, in the place which I shall show you on a high mountain.[22]

The theme of the forty-day fast on the mountain receives an even more distinctly "Mosaic" shape in chapter 12, where it coincides with another cluster of Mosaic traditions, including the reference to Horeb (a name for Sinai in some biblical passages) and information about the nourishment of a seer through the vision of a celestial being:

> And we went, the two of us alone together, forty days and nights. And I ate no bread and drank no water, because [my] food was to see the angel who was with me, and his speech with me was my drink. And we came to the glorious God's mountains—Horeb.[23]

Scholars often see in this passage an allusion to Exodus 34:28,[24] which reports that Moses was with God forty days and forty nights on Mount Sinai without eating bread or drinking water.[25] The reference to alternative nourishment through the vision of a celestial being again evokes the cluster of interpretive traditions associated in Second Temple[26] and rabbinic literature[27] with the figure of Moses.

Although the biblical accounts of Moses's and Elijah's theophanic experiences often "mirror" each other by sharing similar imagery,[28] David Halperin argues that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* Mosaic traditions have greater formative value than traditions about Elijah. He notes that

> when the angel tells Abraham that he will see God "come straight towards us" (chapter 16), this reminds us that God "passes by" both Moses and Elijah (Exod 33:22; 34:6; 1 Kgs 19:11–12). But it is only Moses who is told in this connection that "you cannot see my face" and "my face shall not be seen" (33:20, 23), just as the angel goes on to tell Abraham that God "Himself thou shalt not see." Moses, not Elijah, "bowed down upon the earth and prostrated himself" when God passed (34:8)—which explains Abraham's frustrated urge to do the same thing (chapter 17).[29]

Previous studies have convincingly demonstrated the importance of Mosaic typology for the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, who decided to transfer several important Mosaic motifs into Abraham's story. Yet, despite scholars' thorough attention to the Mosaic background of the story, one vital detail appears to have escaped their notice: Moses's forty-day fast occurred immediately after his fight with idolatry and his destruction of the Golden Calf, when he returned to Sinai again to receive a second set of tablets from the deity.

It is intriguing that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as in the Exodus account, the forty-day fast follows the hero's battle with idolatry. One can see a certain parallelism between the stories of the two visionaries. Like Moses who burns the Golden Calf (Exod 32) and then fasts (Exod 34), Abraham too is described earlier in the text as burning the idol of his father, a figurine bearing the name Bar-Eshath.[30] It is important that in both cases the transition to the initiatory purifying fast occurs immediately after the accounts dealing with idolatry and the demotion of idols.

The tradition of the hero's fast that occurs after his fight with an idolatrous statue betrays distinctly priestly concerns and appears important for discerning the sacerdotal background of Abraham's story and its possible connections with Day of Atonement traditions. Yet the main question remains open: How can a Yom Kippur setting be reconciled with the Mosaic details of Abraham's initiation, given that these details point unambiguously to the

cluster of motifs associated with the *Shavuot* festival which celebrates Moses's reception of the Tablets of the Law?

It is intriguing that later rabbinic writers identify the day on which Moses received the tablets of the law for a second time with another Jewish festival, the Day of Atonement. Thus *b. Baba Batra* 121a records the following tradition:

> One well understands why the Day of Atonement [should be such a festive occasion for it is] a day of pardon and forgiveness. [And it is also] a day on which the second Tables were given.[31]

An almost identical tradition is found in *b. Taanit* 30b:

> R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: There never were in Israel greater days of joy than the fifteenth of Ab and the Day of Atonement. I can understand the Day of Atonement, because it is a day of forgiveness and pardon and on it the second Tables of the Law were given.[32]

It appears that this cluster of traditions about the "day of pardon and forgiveness" draws on biblical traditions similar to the one found in Exodus 32:30, where, after the idolatry of the Golden Calf, Moses tells the people that he will go to the Lord asking for atonement of their sin.

Several midrashic passages make even more explicit this connection between the repentance of the Israelites after the idolatry of the Golden Calf in Exodus 33 and the establishment of Yom Kippur. In these materials the Israelites' repentance serves as the formative starting point for observance of the Day of Atonement. Thus, *Eliyyahu Rabbah* 17 reads:

> When Israel were in the wilderness, they befouled themselves with their misdeeds, but then they bestirred themselves and repented in privacy, as is said, Whenever Moses went out to the Tent, all the people would rise and stand, each at the entrance of his tent, and gaze after Moses. And when Moses entered the tent, the pillar of cloud would descend and stand at the entrance of the Tent. . . . When all the people saw the pillar of cloud poised at the entrance of the Tent, all the people would rise and bow low, each at the entrance of his tent (Exod 33:8, 9, 10), thus intimating that they repented, each one in the privacy of his tent. Therefore His compassion flooded up and He gave to them, to their children, and to their children's children to

> the end of all generations the Day of Atonement as a means of securing His pardon.[33]

It is noteworthy that this passage from *Eliyyahu Rabbah* invokes the memory of the familiar events found in Exodus 33 that occurred immediately after the Golden Calf episode.[34] The midrashic evidence indicates that the rabbinic tradition attempts repeatedly to place the institution of Yom Kippur's atoning rites into the framework of the traditions surrounding Moses's reception of the second set of the Tablets of the Law.

A passage found in *Pirke de R. Eliezer* 46 unveils the tradition connecting Moses's vision of the Glory of God in Exod 33 with the Day of Atonement:

> Moses said: On the Day of Atonement I will behold the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, and I will make atonement for the iniquities of Israel. Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! "Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory" (Exod xxxiii, 18). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Moses! Thou art not able to see My glory lest thou die, as it is said, "For men shall not see me and live . . ." (ibid, 20).[35]

This tradition of Moses's quest to behold the *Kavod*, now placed in the liturgical setting of the Day of Atonement, anticipates the vision of the concealed Glory of God in the Holy of Holies by the high priest on Yom Kippur.

In view of the Mosaic traditions found in the Slavonic apocalypse, it is even more pertinent for our study that several midrashic passages link Moses's forty-day ordeal on Sinai with the institution of the Day of Atonement. The passage found in *Pirke de R. Eliezer* 46 preserves the following tradition:

> The Son of Bethera said: Moses spent forty days on the mount, expounding the meaning of the words of the Torah, and examining its letters. After forty days he took the Torah, and descended on the tenth of the month, on the Day of Atonement, and gave it as an everlasting inheritance to the children of Israel, as it is said, "And this shall be unto you an everlasting statute" (Lev. xvi. 34).[36]

It is also intriguing that the passage from *Pirke de R. Eliezer* links the revelation given to the son of Amram with the instructions about Yom Kippur in Leviticus 16. Another passage, *Eliyyahu Zuta* 4, goes even farther by connecting the forty-day fast that preceded Moses's reception of the

tablets for a second time with the establishment of the practice of self-denial on Yom Kippur:

> During the last forty days when Moses went up a second time to Mount Sinai to fetch the Torah, Israel decreed for themselves that the day be set aside for fasting and self-affliction. The last day of the entire period, the last of the forty, they again decreed self-affliction and spent the night also in such self-affliction as would not allow the Inclination to evil to have any power over them. In the morning they rose early and went up before Mount Sinai. They were weeping as they met Moses, and Moses was weeping as he met them, and at length that weeping rose up on high. At once the compassion of the Holy One welled up in their behalf, and the holy spirit gave them good tidings and great consolation, as He said to them: My children, I swear by My great name that this weeping will be a joyful weeping for you because this day will be a day of pardon, atonement, and forgiveness for you—for you, for your children, and for your children's children until the end of all generations.[37]

All this evidence from the rabbinic literature indicates that in later Jewish interpretation Moses's fight with idolatry, his forty-day fast, his vision of the deity, and his reception of the portentous revelation on Sinai were understood as a chain of formative events linked to the establishment of the Yom Kippur ceremony. Moreover, some of these traditions envisioned Moses's ordeal as the cosmic prototype of the symbolic actions that, while the Temple still stood, were reenacted annually by the high priest in the Holy of Holies.

Now it is time to return to the Slavonic apocalypse, where a very similar constellation of motifs is found. It is possible that by evoking this particular cluster of Mosaic traditions the authors of the apocalypse were attempting to connect the patriarch's sacrificial practices on Mount Horeb with Moses's receiving the tablets of the law for the second time, the event which later rabbinic traditions interpreted as the inauguration of the Yom Kippur holiday.

It is intriguing that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as in the aforementioned rabbinic accounts, the self-afflicting practice of the forty-day fast that follows the sin of idolatry is then connected to Day of Atonement imagery. It is possible that in the Slavonic apocalypse, as in rabbinic accounts, a very similar combination of Mosaic motifs is permeated with Yom Kippur symbolism.

While several scholars have previously pointed to the existence of Yom Kippur imagery in the Slavonic apocalypse, no sufficient explanation was offered for why this cluster of traditions surrounding the scapegoat Azazel and the two lots suddenly appears in the Abrahamic pseudepigraphon. In this respect it is noteworthy that other Abrahamic pseudepigrapha (for example, the *Testament of Abraham*), while sharing some other common conceptual tenets with the *Apocalypse of Abraham*,[38] do not show any interest in appropriating Day of Atonement symbolism. Such imagery is also absent from other early extra-biblical elaborations of the patriarch's story found in the *Book of Jubilees*, Josephus, and Philo as well as in the later rabbinic materials (*Genesis Rabbah*, *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu*, *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah*).[39] There too one fails to find any references to Azazel or the imagery of the two lots, the very themes that play such a significant theological role in the Slavonic apocalypse. The aforementioned Abrahamic materials also contain no references to the peculiar cluster of Mosaic traditions found in our text.

Yet the uniqueness of this constellation of motifs opens up the possibility that in the Slavonic apocalypse the story of the patriarch might be patterned not according to biblical Mosaic typology but according to a later version, found also in the aforementioned rabbinic accounts, which now connects the hero's fight with idolatry and his practice of self-denial with the establishment of the observance of the Yom Kippur festival. In this respect, the highly "developed" shape of certain Mosaic themes found in the apocalypse—such as, for example, the motif of the unusual nourishment of a seer during his forty-day fast—points to apparent departures from the early biblical blueprint.

Two Lots

From a Sacrificial Animal to a Fallen Angel

One of the challenges in arguing for a Yom Kippur setting in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* lies in the fact that the accounts of Abraham's sacrificial practices lack any explicit reference to the two goats of biblical and rabbinic traditions. These emblematic sacrificial animals played a distinctive role in the Yom Kippur rite, wherein one goat was sacrificed to God and the other was released into the wilderness for Azazel.[40]

Yet in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a writing that exhibits a great deal of influence from the Enochic tradition, allusions to the Yom Kippur ritual seem to be affected also by Enochic reinterpretation of the scapegoat imagery and especially the enhanced symbolism of its chief antagonist, the scapegoat

Azazel, envisioned now not as a sacrificial animal but as a demoted celestial being. Scholars have previously noted that in the *Book of the Watchers* the scapegoat rite receives a striking, angelological reinterpretation in incorporating some details of the sacrificial ritual into the story of its main negative hero—the fallen angel Asael. Thus *1 En.* 10:4–7 reads:

> And further the Lord said to Raphael: "Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire. And restore the earth which the angels have ruined, and announce the restoration of the earth, for I shall restore the earth.[41]

Several distinguished students of the apocalyptic traditions have previously discerned that some details of Asael's punishment are reminiscent of the scapegoat ritual.[42] Lester Grabbe points to a number of parallels between the Asael narrative in *1 Enoch* and the wording of Leviticus 16, including "the similarity of the names Asael and Azazel; the punishment in the desert; the placing of sin on Asael/Azazel; the resultant healing of the land."[43] Daniel Stökl also observes that "the punishment of the demon resembles the treatment of the goat in aspects of geography, action, time and purpose."[44] Thus, the place of Asael's punishment designated in *1 Enoch* as *Dudael* is reminiscent of the rabbinic terminology used for the designation of the ravine of the scapegoat (בית הדורו / הדודו) in later rabbinic interpretations of the Yom Kippur ritual. Stökl remarks that "the name of place of judgment (*Dudael*—בית הדורו) is conspicuously similar in both traditions and can likely be traced to a common origin."[45]

Several Qumran materials also appear cognizant of this angelological reinterpretation of the scapegoat figure when they choose to depict Azazel as the eschatological leader of the fallen angels, incorporating him into the story of the Watchers' rebellion. Thus 4Q180 1:1–10 reads:

> Interpretation concerning the ages which God has made: An age to conclude [all that there is] and all that will be. Before creating them he determined [their] operations [according to the precise sequence of the ages,] one age after another age. And this is engraved on the [heavenly] tablets [for the sons of men,] [for] /[a]ll/ the ages of their dominion. This is the sequence of the son[s of Noah, from Shem to Abraham,] [unt]il he sired Isaac;

> the ten [generations . . .] [. . .] Blank [. . .] [And] interpretation concerning 'Azaz'el and the angels wh[o came to the daughters of man] [and s]ired themselves giants. And concerning 'Azaz'el [is written . . .] [to love] injustice and to let him inherit evil for all [his] ag[e . . .] [. . .] (of the) judgments and the judgment of the council of [. . .].[46]

Lester Grabbe points to another important piece of evidence—a fragmentary text from the *Book of Giants* found at Qumran (4Q203).[47] In this document[48] the punishment for all the sins of the fallen angels is placed on Azazel.[49]

Later rabbinic materials also link the sacrificial animal known from the scapegoat ritual to the story of the angelic rebels. Thus, for example, *b. Yoma* 67b records the following tradition: "The School of R. Ishmael taught: Azazel—[it was so called] because it obtains atonement for the affair of Uza and Aza'el."[50]

As can be seen, the conceptual link between the scapegoat and the fallen angel is documented in a number of important materials across a substantial span of history. A broad scholarly consensus now recognizes this connection.

It appears that such an "angelological" pattern also operates in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where Azazel, like the antagonist of the Enochic tradition, is envisioned as a fallen angelic being. It has previously been noted that the Azazel story in the apocalypse reflects several peculiar details of the Enochic myth of the fallen Watchers.[51] For example, Rubinkiewicz argued that

> the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* follows the tradition of *1 Enoch* 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel, who rules the stars and most men. It is not difficult to find here the tradition of Genesis 6:1–4 developed according to the tradition of *1 Enoch*. Azazel is the head of the angels who plotted against the Lord and who impregnated the daughters of men. These angels are compared to the stars. Azazel revealed the secrets of heaven and is banished to the desert. Abraham, as Enoch, receives the power to drive away Satan. All these connections show that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* drew upon the tradition of *1 Enoch*.[52]

It is clear that in the Slavonic apocalypse, as in the Enochic and Qumran materials, Azazel is no longer a sacrificial animal, but an angelic being. Already in his first appearance in chapter 13:3–4,[53] he is depicted as an unclean (impure) bird (Slav. **птица нечистая**).[54] In the pteromorphic angelological code of *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which chooses to portray Yahoel with the

body of griffin, the bird-like appearance of Azazel points to his angelic form.[55]

The assumption that Azazel was once an angelic being is further supported by *Apoc. Ab.* 14, which tells about the celestial garment that the fallen angel once possessed: "For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him (Abraham)."[56]

Yet in comparison with the early Enochic developments, the angelic profile of Azazel appears to be more advanced. Lester Grabbe suggests that "Azazel is no longer just a leader among the fallen angels but *the* leader of the demons."[57]

The Goat for YHWH?

Abraham's symmetrical role in relation to Azazel in the Slavonic apocalypse again evokes the memory of the Enochic tradition and its legendary hero—the seventh antediluvian patriarch. In both cases the protagonists appear to be mirroring their respective negative counterparts, as both stories portray them exchanging attributes and roles with one another. Just as Enoch takes the priestly and celestial offices of Asael, while the fallen angel assumes some human roles, so in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* Azazel surrenders his angelic garment to the hero of the faith. Both parties, thus, accept the roles and offices of their counterparts as they enter the realms of their opponents. In this respect it is noteworthy that the transition of the antagonist of the Slavonic apocalypse into the lower realm, as in the case of Asael of the Enochic tradition, encompasses two steps: his removal first to the earth,[58] then further, to the fiery abyss of the subterranean sphere.[59]

Furthermore, similarly to the *Book of the Watchers*, in the Abrahamic pseudepigraphon the protagonist progresses in the direction opposite to his negative counterpart by ascending into heaven, as he acquires a special status and a celestial garment that allows him to enter the celestial sanctuary.[60] The progression of the patriarch into upper sancta has here, as in *1 Enoch*, a sacerdotal significance, as it betrays connections with the Yom Kippur ceremony of the high priest's entrance into the divine presence. Moreover, it is possible that Abraham's progressive movement into the heavenly Holy of Holies might be understood here as encompassing not only the priestly but also the sacrificial dimension, in view of the patriarch's symmetrical position to the celestial scapegoat, by virtue of which Abraham's lot is repeatedly juxtaposed with the lot of Azazel.

The Slavonic text conceals many details, and it remains unclear whether Abraham is understood in the Slavonic apocalypse as the sacrificial goat for the Lord. Yet, some cryptic traditions found in the text might hint at

this possibility. As is known from the biblical and rabbinic descriptions of the Yom Kippur ritual, the flesh of the goat[61] for YHWH was destroyed by fire, while his blood (which represents in Jewish tradition the soul of the sacrificial animal) was then brought into the Holy of Holies by the high priest and used there for purification.[62]

In light of these traditions, could Yahoel and Abraham's entrance into the heavenly Throne room in chapter 18 be understood as an allusion to the entrance of the high priest who brings the purifying sacrifice into the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur?

It is interesting that in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:4–5, Azazel warns his counterpart representing the "divine" lot that he will be destroyed by fire along with other sacrificial animals:

> And the impure bird spoke to me and said, "What are you doing, Abraham, on the holy heights, where no one eats or drinks, nor is there upon them food of men? But these will all be consumed by fire and they will burn you up. Leave the man who is with you and flee! Since if you ascend to the height, they will destroy you."[63]

Azazel's ominous warning remains one of the most profound puzzles of the text. Yet the motif of a seer's encounter with fire appears significant for the authors of the pseudepigraphon, who envision fire as a theophanic substance surrounding the very presence of the deity. Thus, later in the text, Abraham's transition into the divine realm is described as his entrance into the fire.[64] Could the promise of a celestial garment to the patriarch in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* signify here, as in many other apocalyptic accounts, that his "mortal" body must be "altered" in the fiery metamorphosis?[65] Unfortunately, the text does not provide direct answers for such inquiries.

In order to better understand Abraham's connections with the "divine" lot, which might help us further clarify his eschatological role as the "goat for YHWH," we must now explore the imagery of the two lots found in the Slavonic apocalypse.

Eschatological Lots

We have already noted that the remarkable angelic metamorphosis of the sacrificial animal associated with the lot of Azazel has had a long-lasting conceptual afterlife in Jewish apocalypticism and its eschatology. Yet one should not forget another essential aspect of Yom Kippur symbolism that similarly exercised a formative influence on some Second Temple apocalyptic

materials, including the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Qumran writings one encounters a broad appropriation of the imagery of two lots, symbolism that has profound significance in the scapegoat ordinance. Like the figure of Azazel, who is enhanced with a new celestial profile, the imagery of the sacrificial lots also receives a novel eschatological reinterpretation. Thus, in a number of Qumran materials such as 1QM, 1QS, 4Q544, and 11Q13, the two lots become associated not with two sacrificial goats but with celestial protagonists, both positive—such as Melchizedek or the Angel of Light, as well as negative—such as Melchireša^{c}, Belial, or the Prince of Darkness. Those fascinating characters come to be understood in these documents as the leaders of the "portions of humanity" associated with the lots of good and evil, darkness and light.[66] In Qumran documents one can find repeated references to these eschatological lots representing the respective good and evil portions of humanity, often designated as "the men of the lot of Melchisedek"[67] (11Q13 2:8) or "the men of the lot of Belial"[68] (5Q11 1:3).

Such eschatological reinterpretation of the lots looms large in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* as well. Numerous references to the two lots can be found in the second part of the pseudepigraphon. Scholars have previously noted that the peculiar conceptual elaborations that surround the imagery of the lots are reminiscent of the eschatological reinterpretations and terminology found in the Qumran materials.[69]

Yet in comparison with the Qumran materials, connections to the underlying formative pattern of the scapegoat ritual appear even more distinctive and therefore more easily recognizable in the Slavonic accounts of the lots.[70] Thus, in *Apoc. Ab.* 13, in one of the first passages in the text to invoke imagery of two "lots" or "portions," one can easily discern allusions to particular details associated with Yom Kippur observance. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–8 reads:

> And he [Yahoel] said to him, "Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity. Therefore the Eternal Lord, the Mighty One, has made you a dweller on earth."[71]

Here the distinctive reference to the dwelling place of the "impurity" of the antagonist immediately recalls the motif of the removal of impurity into another realm by means of Azazel, a concept that plays a prominent role in the original scapegoat ceremony.

Further connections can be seen in the description of the other lot, associated with Abraham. Thus, similarly to the Day of Atonement

commemoration, wherein the lot of the goat for YHWH is called the lot for the Lord, in *Apoc. Ab.* 20:5 the lot of Abraham is designated as the lot of the deity (my [God's] lot):

> And the Eternal Mighty One said to me, "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said, "Here am I!" And he said, "Look from on high at the stars which are beneath you and count them for me and tell me their number!" And I said, "Would I be able? For I am [but] a man." And he said to me, "As the number of the stars and their host, so shall I make your seed into a company of nations, set apart for me in my lot with Azazel."[72]

This identification of the positive lot with the lot of God is also present in the Qumran materials.[73]

While the parallels between the imagery of the lots found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and in Qumran materials have often attracted scholars' attention, they have often failed to discern the pronounced similarities with the rabbinic developments. Yet the intriguing details in the descriptions of the lots in the Slavonic apocalypse seem to point to close connections with later rabbinic reinterpretations of Yom Kippur imagery found in the Mishnah and the Talmud. A captivating parallel here involves the spatial arrangement of the lots on the left and right sides, found both in the Slavonic apocalypse and in rabbinic materials.

A passage found in *Apoc. Ab.* 22 portrays two portions of humanity arranged according to the two lots and situated on the left and right sides:

> And he said to me, "These who are on the left side are a multitude of tribes who were before and who are destined to be after you: some for judgment and justice, and others for revenge and perdition at the end of the age. Those on the right side of the picture are the people set apart for me of the people [that are] with Azazel. These are the ones I have destined to be born of you and to be called my people."[74]

In *Apoc. Ab.* 27:1–2 and 29:11, this division of the two lots arranged on the left and right is repeated again:

> And I looked and saw, and behold, the picture swayed, and a heathen people went out from its left side and they captured those who were on the right side: the men, women, and children. And some they slaughtered and others they held with them. (*Apoc. Ab.* 27:1–2)

> And that you saw going out from the left side of the picture and those worshiping him, this [means that] many of the heathen will hope in him. (*Apoc. Ab.* 29:11)

It should be noted that while in the Qumran materials the spatial arrangement of the lots on the left and right sides does not play any important theological role, such a distinction receives its paramount cultic significance in the rabbinic descriptions of the Yom Kippur custom of the selection of the goats.[75]

In this respect it is intriguing that the spatial arrangement of the lots on the left and the right sides in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is reminiscent of the descriptions found in the mishnaic treatise *Yoma,* where the ritual selection of two goats—one for YHWH and the other for Azazel—also operates with the symbolism of the left and right sides.

Thus in *m. Yoma* 4:1 the following tradition is found:

> He shook the casket and took up the two lots. On one was written "For the Lord," and on the other was written "For Azazel." The prefect was on his right and the chief of his father's house on his left. If the lot bearing the Name came up in his right hand the Prefect would say to him, "My lord High Priest, raise thy right hand"; and if it came up in his left hand the chief of the father's house would say to him, "My lord High Priest, raise thy left hand." He put them on the two he-goats and said "A sin-offering to the Lord."[76]

Although the passage from Mishnah does not openly identify the right side with the divine lot, as does the Slavonic apocalypse, the Babylonian Talmud makes this connection explicit. Thus *b. Yoma* 39a reads:

> Our Rabbis taught: Throughout the forty years that Simeon the Righteous ministered, the lot ["For the Lord"] would always come up in the right hand; from that time on, it would come up now in the right hand, now in the left. And [during the same time] the crimson-colored strap would become white. From that time on it would at times become white, at others not.[77]

This imagery of the selection of the goats in rabbinic materials, in which the scapegoat is placed on the left and the goat for the Lord on the right, recalls the spatial arrangement of the lots in the Slavonic apocalypse where the divine lot is similarly situated on the right side and the lot of Azazel on the left side.[78]

Reenactment of the Yom Kippur Festival in the Apocalypse of Abraham: The Scapegoat Ritual

The High Priest and Azazel

As in the Enochic tradition where the profiles of both protagonists[79] and antagonists[80] often reveal their cultic affiliations, in the Slavonic apocalypse too both Azazel and Abraham are envisioned as priestly figures. As has already been mentioned, this sacerdotal vision permeates the fabric of the entire pseudepigraphon, in which all main characters are endowed with cultic roles. The most spectacular cultic attributes are, of course, given to Yahoel, who is presented in the text as the heavenly high priest and the celestial choirmaster. The repeated instructions about sacrificial rites and proper liturgical procedures that he conveys to his human apprentice, Abraham, reveal Yahoel as the most distinguished sacerdotal figure of the story. It is possible that, in his role as instructor and revealer of cultic mysteries, Yahoel discloses his teachings to the patriarch not only in speech but also through direct participation in priestly praxis. One such instance may be seen in chapters 13 and 14 of the Slavonic apocalypse, where Yahoel appears to perform one of the central ordinances of the Yom Kippur atoning ceremony, in which impurity is transferred onto Azazel and the scapegoat is dispatched into the wilderness.

Thus, in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14, the following arcane encounter between the high priest Yahoel and the scapegoat Azazel can be found:

> "Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity. Therefore the Eternal Lord, the Mighty One, has made you a dweller on earth. And because of you [there is] the wholly-evil spirit of the lie, and because of you [there are] wrath and trials on the generations of impious men. Since the Eternal Mighty God did not send the righteous, in their bodies, to be in your hand, in order to affirm through them the righteous life and the destruction of impiety. . . . Hear, adviser! Be shamed by me, since you have been appointed to tempt not to all the righteous! Depart from this man! You cannot deceive him, because he is the enemy of you and of those who follow you and who love what you desire. For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you."[81]

In view of the cultic affiliations of Yahoel, it is possible that his address to the scapegoat has a ritual significance, since it appears to be reminiscent of some of the actions of the high priest on Yom Kippur. The first thing that draws attention is that Yahoel's speech contains a command of departure: "Depart from this man!" Crispin Fletcher-Louis has noted a possible connection between this command found in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:12 and the dispatching formula given to the scapegoat in *m. Yoma* 6:4: "Take our sins and go forth."[82]

Scholars have also pointed out that some technical terminology found in chapter 13 appears to be connected with Yom Kippur terminology. Daniel Stökl draws attention to the expression about "sending" things to Azazel in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:10,[83] which Alexander Kulik traces to the Greek term ἀποστέλλω or Hebrew שלח.[84] Stökl proposes that this terminology "might allude to the sending out of the scapegoat."[85]

The phrase "dwelling place of your impurity" is also noteworthy since it alludes to the "purgation" function of the scapegoat ceremony, the rite that centered on removing the impurity heaped on the sacrificial animal to the "dwelling" place of the demon in the wilderness.

The putting of reproach and shame on Azazel in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7 and 13:11 may also relate to the ritual curses bestowed upon the scapegoat.

Another important detail of Yahoel's speech is the angel's mention that the corruption of the forefather of the Israelite nation is transferred now to Azazel.

Reflecting on this utterance of the great angel, Robert Helm sees its connection to the Yom Kippur settings by proposing that "the transference of Abraham's corruption to Azazel may be a veiled reference to the scapegoat rite."[86] Similarly, Lester Grabbe also argues that the phrasing in the statement that "Abraham's corruption has 'gone over to' Azazel suggest[s] an act of atonement."[87]

It is also possible that the high priest Yahoel is performing here the so-called "transference function"—the crucial part of the scapegoat ritual—when the high priest conveys the sins of Israel onto the head of the goat through confession and the laying-on of hands.[88]

Abraham and the Scapegoat

It is quite clear that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Yahoel functions as a senior priest explaining and demonstrating rituals to a junior sacerdotal servant—Abraham.[89] This parallelism between the instructions of the master and the actions of the apprentice is manifested already in the beginning of the apocalyptic section of the text, where the patriarch faithfully follows

the orders of his angelic guide about the preparation of the sacrifices.[90] The same pattern of sacerdotal instruction, in which orders of the master are then followed by the performance of the disciple, is also discernable in the depiction of the ritual of dispatching the scapegoat.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, after Yahoel's own "handling" of Azazel, the angel then verbally instructs Abraham on how to deal with the scapegoat:

> Say to him, "May you be the fire brand of the furnace of the earth! Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth. Since your inheritance are those who are with you, with men born with the stars and clouds. And their portion is you, and they come into being through your being. And justice is your enmity. Therefore through your own destruction vanish from before me!" And I said the words as the angel had taught me (*Apoc. Ab.* 14:5–8).[91]

In this narrative the dispatching formulas appear to be even more decisive and forceful than in the previously investigated passage from chapter 13, now including such commands to the scapegoat as: "Go" (Slav. **иди**)[92] and "Vanish from before me" (Slav. **буди от мене исчезлъ**).[93]

Another captivating detail is that the dispatching formula "Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth" designates the destination of the demon's removal as "the untrodden parts of earth." The word *untrodden* (Slav. **беспроходна**)[94] is significant since it designates a place uninhabitable (lit. impassable) to human beings.

Reflecting on the language of Lev 16 where the scapegoat is dispatched "to the solitary place" (**אל־ארץ גזרה**) "in the wilderness," (**במדבר**),[95] Jacob Milgrom observes that "the purpose of dispatching the goat to the wilderness is to remove it from human habitation."[96]

In view of these observations, it is possible that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* one encounters another, so-called "elimination," aspect of the scapegoat ritual whereby impurity must be removed from the human *oikumene* into an inhabitable (or in the language of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, "untrodden") realm.

In this respect Daniel Stökl also observes that the terminology found in *Apoc. Ab.* 14:5, where Azazel goes "into untrodden parts of the earth," is reminiscent of the Septuagint version's translation of Leviticus 16:22 **εἰς γῆν ἄβατον**[97] and the expression chosen by Philo in *De Specialibus Legibus* 1:188 in his description of Yom Kippur.[98]

The concluding phrase of the passage from chapter 14, which reports that Abraham repeated the words he received from the great angel, confirms

our suggestion that Abraham is depicted here as a sort of a priestly apprentice receiving instructions from his master Yahoel and then applying this knowledge in dispatching the scapegoat.[99]

Conclusion

In the conclusion of our study of the Yom Kippur imagery discernable in the second part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, we should again draw attention to the possible connections between these sacerdotal traditions and the conceptual developments found in the first, haggadic section of the pseudepigraphon.

As has already been mentioned, the first part of the text is also permeated with cultic concerns as it depicts the idolatrous worship of the household of Terah, envisioned there through the metaphor of the polluted sanctuary. The section ends with the demise of the infamous house of worship and the death of its sacerdotal servants—Abraham's father Terah and his brother Nahor—perishing in the fire of the destroyed shrine polluted by idols.

In this respect it is intriguing that the description of the Yom Kippur ritual found in Leviticus 16 also begins with a reference to two priests who have perished: Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu who, like Terah and Nahor in the Slavonic apocalypse, were killed by the fire proceeding from God because their improper priestly practice defiled the sanctuary.

This reference to priests who have perished and caused a contamination that now requires purgation appears to serve well the cultic agenda of Leviticus 16, which then offers the description of the purificatory rite of Yom Kippur.[100] As was already seen, later rabbinic materials that link the Golden Calf episode with the establishment of Yom Kippur hint at this correspondence between sacerdotal transgression and the need for its cultic repair.

In light of the aforementioned traditions, it appears that the reenactment of the Yom Kippur observances found in the second part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* also fits nicely in the overall structure of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, where the hero's transition from the polluted and destroyed sanctuary depicted in the beginning of the story to the true place of worship shown him by deity at the end is mediated by the atoning ritual.

The Garment of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

> [T]hese garments are after the supernal pattern, as we have learnt: "There is a High Priest above and a high priest below, raiment of honour above and raiment of honour below."
>
> —*Zohar* I.217a

> Just as there are levels and palaces on the side of holiness, so also on the side of uncleanness.
>
> —*Zohar* II.263a

Introduction

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* baffles its readers' imaginations with a plethora of sacerdotal motifs. From its very first lines, this enigmatic text strives to portray young Abraham and his relatives as cultic servants performing priestly duties in a sanctuary filled with idolatrous statues. The readers of the text soon recognize that its peculiar cultic concerns permeate the fabric of the entire pseudepigraphon. Indeed, its authors appear to assign specific cultic roles to almost all of the story's characters. As the narrative progresses, and the deity removes the young hero of the faith from the defiled house of worship and sets him on a celestial journey to the true sanctuary in heaven, new characters endowed with sacerdotal functions begin to enter the story.

The most spectacular cultic responsibilities are given to Abraham's celestial guide, the angel Yahoel, whom the text envisions as the heavenly high priest and the celestial choirmaster of the Living Creatures. Both his peculiar liturgical duties vis-à-vis the Throne Room's angelic creatures and his bold access to the divine presence reveal Yahoel's status as a very special celebrant ministering in the celestial sanctuary. As has been noted before,

some of Yahoel's actions are reminiscent of the cultic acts of the high priest, that unique sacerdotal servant who was able to enter the divine presence in the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur. In light of the striking panoply of priestly motifs in the *Apoc. Ab.*, indeed it seems that its authors had not forgotten this central sacerdotal ordinance of the Jewish tradition—a major cultic event laden with portentous revelatory opportunities. As the story develops, and Yahoel leads his human apprentice, Abraham, into the celestial Holy of Holies located in the upper heaven, the cluster of motifs pertaining to this special atoning rite become more and more distinctive. Scholars have noted previously that the instructions Yahoel conveys to Abraham invoke the memory of peculiar symbolic actions and rituals that took place on the Day of Atonement. Moreover, it has even been suggested that, in chapters 13 and 14, Yahoel performs the climactic action of the atoning ceremony on Yom Kippur, that is, the enigmatic scapegoat ritual, by which impurity was transferred onto a goat named Azazel and then, through him, dispatched into the wilderness.[1]

Yet despite striking similarities with Yom Kippur traditions found in biblical and rabbinic accounts, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse strive to refashion the ancient rite in accordance with a new apocalyptic outlook, which sees the earthly version of the atoning ritual as a reflection of celestial and eschatological realities. In this perspective, one may recognize a new cosmic dimension of the atoning ordinance, which is envisioned in the Slavonic text as the eschatological Yom Kippur. That we find this emphasis on the heavenly and eschatological dimensions of the sacerdotal symbolism in a transitional text such as the *Apoc. Ab.* is no coincidence. It was written during a unique period in Jewish history, when apocalyptic authors, faced with a wide array of challenges stemming from the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, embraced various alternatives for continuation priestly practices. When it envisions heaven as the true place of worship, and depicts Abraham as an adept of the heavenly priestly praxis entering the celestial Holy of Holies, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* evinces one such sacerdotal option.

Veiled symbolism, which reveals both apocalyptic and sacerdotal realities, accompanies the seer's cultic entrance into heaven. Thus, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as in many other Jewish pseudepigraphical narratives, the hero's entrance into the sacred realm coincides with his peculiar transformation as celebrant of the celestial liturgy. This metamorphosis, hinted at symbolically via the change in Abraham's ontological garments, was often taken to mark the transition from an earthly to a celestial condition. Here, as in the Yom Kippur ordinance, the metamorphosis of the celebrant's wardrobe is the pinnacle of transformational experience.

Although previous studies have explored many facets of the Yom Kippur imagery in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, sufficient attention has not yet been paid to the peculiar metamorphoses which the story's (human and angelic) protagonists and antagonists seem to experience in the course of their participation in the drama of the eschatological Yom Kippur ritual. The present study aims to further explore the Yom Kippur traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse by paying special attention to the transformational aspects of this enigmatic atoning ritual.

The Protagonist's Transformation

The Lost Attires

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* can be divided into two parts. The first, "haggadic" section (chapters 1 through 8) depicts the young hero of the faith as a paladin against his father Terah's idolatrous statues. The second, "apocalyptic" part (which occupies the work's remaining chapters) describes Abraham as he prepares for his heavenly journey, progresses into the abode of the deity, and acquires eschatological mysteries. This second section unveils one of the most important dynamics to be found in the Jewish apocalyptic accounts when both positive and negative characters progress into the respective realms of their eschatological opponents, and frequently assume the roles and offices of their counterparts.[2] In such accounts, a seer and his demoted opponent(s) often confront each other on their journeys to their new habitats.[3]

Apoc. Ab. 13, where Abraham encounters his eschatological antagonist in the form of the fallen angel Azazel, may represent a pivotal point of this dynamic of exaltation and demotion. In the course of this encounter, Abraham's *angelus interpres*, Yahoel, informs both parties that the celestial garment of the demoted angel must now be transferred to a new owner—the translated hero of the faith. Thus *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14 reads:

> "Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity. . . . For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you."[4]

The pivotal transformational motif invoked in this passage—namely, the promise of new attire to the translated hero—signifies not merely a rather

unusual expansion of the patriarch's wardrobe, but his ontological transition from the form of a human being to the status of celestial citizen. Such endowments with celestial attire are not unusual in apocalyptic literature. Seers often receive angelic garments. In *2 En.* 22, for example, Enoch is clothed with a luminous angelic garment, which makes his body similar to the glorious bodies of the angelic servants. Such a metamorphosis is of great anthropological significance: it signals a return to the original luminosity the first humans lost after their transgression in Eden.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the hero's transition also seems to invoke the memory of the protological story, in which the luminous clothes of the heavenly beings were exchanged for garments of skin. Abraham's endowment with angelic garments may, therefore, signal an eschatological return to the protoplast's original condition. Several of the text's students have, in fact, noted this possibility. Louis Ginzberg, for one, suggested the possible Adamic background and pointed to parallels in the targumic materials and in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 20.[5] Indeed, the transference of a garment from the demoted angelic antagonist to an exalted human protagonist is an important theme throughout the Adamic lore.

Some of the currents within this tradition entertain the unusual notion that even the original, luminous garments of the first humans had come from a demoted celestial being. This can be seen, for example, in the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 3:21, a passage that treats the etiology of the first humans' luminous attire. According to this targumic interpretation, the original humans were endowed with luminous garments that had been stripped from the serpent:

> And the Lord God made garments of glory for Adam and for his wife from the skin which the serpent had cast off (to be worn) on the skin of their (garments of) fingernails of which they had been stripped, and he clothed them.[6]

Later midrashim are also aware of the enigmatic provenance of the protoplasts' luminous garments. Thus, for example, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 20 reads:

> Rabbi Eliezer said: From skins which the serpent sloughed off, the Holy One, blessed be He, took and made coats of glory for Adam and his wife, as it is said, "And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife coats of skin, and clothed them."[7]

These passages seem to unveil the dynamic of exaltation and demotion noted above; they suggest that the protagonist's apotheosis, signaled through his acquisition of luminous attire, comes as a result of the denigration of

the erstwhile favorite, who is now stripped of his exalted status. While the new possessors of exalted status are drawn, by the will of God, to their dignified abodes, their antagonistic counterparts are forced into exile from their elevated domiciles.

The tradition of the first humans' clothes of glory, mentioned in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, is important for our study. The motif of Abraham's endowment with a garment stripped from the fallen angel cannot be properly understood without exploring the array of traditions associated with Adamic "clothing metaphors"—a seminal conceptual cluster whose roots can be traced already to some biblical developments.[8] In order to fully grasp these roots, a short excursus into several biblical and extrabiblical texts is necessary.

The Garments of Light

Genesis 1:26–27 and 3:21 are pivotal starting points for subsequent Jewish and Christian reflection on the glorious garments of Adam and Eve. Genesis 1:26 describes the creation of humanity after the likeness (דמות) of the image (צלם) of God. Notably Gen 1:26–27 refers to the צלם *(tselem)* of Adam, the luminous image of God's glory according to which Adam was created.[9] Thus, Adam's *tselem* was created after God's own *tselem* (בצלמנו, literally "in our *tselem*")—a kind of luminous "imitation" of the glorious *tselem* of God. Later rabbinic interpretations often argue that the likeness that Adam and God shared was not physicality, in the usual sense of having a body, but rather luminescence.[10] In this context, the first humans' clothing in garments of glory was often taken by later interpreters as a replication of the state of the deity, who, according to some biblical passages, was also clothed in glory and majesty.[11]

It is therefore especially noteworthy that, amidst such major conceptual developments, Genesis 3 contains a cluster of motifs pertaining to the first humans' attire. According to Gen 3:21, the deity fashioned for his beloved creatures a set of enigmatic clothes—"garments of skin." This text is usually understood to refer to God's clothing of Adam and Eve's nakedness *after* the Fall. Some scholars, however, argue that sufficient evidence exists to suggest another interpretation of the time reference in Gen 3:21. According to this alternative reading, the verbs in Gen 3:21 are to be taken as pluperfects referring to the status of Adam and Eve at their creation *before* the Fall.[12]

Several extra-biblical materials also show familiarity with the traditions of the glorious garments of the first humans.[13] The motif is apparent, for example, in the elaborations of the protoplast story found in the *Books of Adam and Eve*. Some versions of the *Primary Adam Books* allude to the story of the original garments of light once possessed by the first humans. In the

Armenian version of the *LAE* (at 20:1), a testimony about the tragic loss of the garments comes directly from the mouth of one of the protoplasts, when Eve recollects the dramatic moment of the garments' disappearance: "At that hour I learned with my eyes that I was naked of the glory with which I had been clothed."[14] This passage hints not only at the protoplasts' original possession of the glorious clothes, but also at their ominous stripping after the Fall.[15]

Despite this unhappy memory, humanity's return to the glorious garments of the protoplast seems, already in the *Primary Adam Books*, to have been eschatologically foreshadowed.[16] A suggestive hint appears at the scene of Adam's burial (which is found in the section dealing with Adamic funerary rites). His body is covered with linen vestments brought from Paradise, imagery which serves as a sign of the eschatological re-clothing of humanity and its return to the protoplasts' original attire:

> After this, God spoke to Michael and said, "Go to the Garden of the [third] heaven and bring [me] three linen cloths." When he had brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozel and to Gabriel, "Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam's body, and bring sweet oil." They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment (Armenian version).[17]

The rabbinic materials reaffirm the tradition of the first humans' glorious garments. The targumic traditions, both Palestinian[18] and Babylonian,[19] while rendering Gen 3:21 "the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of skin and clothed them," read "garments of glory" instead of "garments of skin." This targumic interpretation is supported by a wide array of midrashic sources. Thus, for example, *Genesis Rabbah* 20:12 says that the scroll of Rabbi Meir read "garments of light" (בתנות אור) instead of "garments of skin" (בתנות עור):

> In R. Meir's Torah it was found written, "Garments of light: this refers to Adam's garments, which were like a torch [shedding radiance], broad at the bottom and narrow at the top."[20]

Another midrashic compilation, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 14, also knows the motif of the protoplast's glorious garment:

> What was the dress of the first man? A skin of nail and a cloud of glory covered him. When he ate of the fruits of the tree, the nail-skin was stripped off him and the cloud of glory departed from him, and he saw himself naked.[21]

Indeed, this motif continued to be developed in the rabbinic context for millennia. In one of the later Jewish mystical compendiums, the *Book of Zohar* 1.36b, one finds an echo of the same tradition about the luminous garments. As was the case at *Genesis Rabbah* 20, this Zoharic passage also uses the same word play, אור / עור:

> At first they had had coats of light (אור), which procured them the service of the highest of the high, for the celestial angels used to come to enjoy that light; so it is written, "For thou hast made him but little lower than the angels, and crowns him with glory and honor" (Ps. viii, 6). Now after their sins they had only coats of skin (עור), good for the body but not for the soul.[22]

The Glory of the Fallen Angel

The biblical Adamic tradition represents, in many ways, the formative bedrock of the later apocalyptic and mystical developments centering on the eschatological re-clothing of the translated patriarchs and prophets, who change the "attire" of their ontological conditions, often at their opponents' expense.

In the Adamic story one also finds the roots of the peculiar etiology, noted above, according to which the protoplasts themselves received their unique status, manifested in luminous garments, as a result of the demotion of an exalted angelic being. In these traditions, Adam literally takes the exalted place and glorious garments of the antagonist. One of the early specimens of such a tradition can be found again in the *Primary Adam Books*, where Satan's removal from his elevated glorious place is set in conceptual symmetry with the creation and exaltation of Adam. Moreover, the very fact of the first human's entrance into the world serves, in this text, as the reason for Satan's dismissal; several versions of the *Primary Adam Books* connect Satan's removal from his exalted dwelling with his refusal to bow down before the deity's newly created favorite.

Thus, for example, in the Armenian version of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 12:1–16:2, the infamous celestial rebel himself describes the reason for his dramatic exile from the throne of the cherubim and the dwelling of light:

> Satan also wept loudly and said to Adam. "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you; for, because of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the cherubs who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me; because of you my feet have trodden the earth. . . . Thereupon, God became angry with me

> and commanded to expel us from our dwelling and to cast me and my angels, who were in agreement with me, to the earth; and you were at the same time in the Garden. When I realized that because of you I had gone forth from the dwelling of light and was in sorrows and pains."[23]

This enigmatic passage graphically reveals the origins of the long-lasting drama of competition and revenge that will later overshadow the whole history of humankind. Yet it also hints at the mysterious dynamics of the celestial realm, a hierarchical world where the rise of the deity's new favorite almost inevitably leads to demise of the old, who now must surrender his unique status, reflected in his garment, to his replacement. It would seem that this unique wardrobe, which signifies the distinctive status of the servant vis-à-vis the Divinity, cannot be divided amongst many.

In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Satan repeatedly describes his original condition through metaphors of glory and light. These are precisely the formulae often used in the *Primary Adam Books* to describe first humans' celestial attire. Thus, in the Latin version of the aforementioned text (12.1–16:2), the Adversary describes his lost condition through the symbolism of "glory":

> "O Adam, all my enmity, jealousy, and resentment is towards you, since on account of you I was expelled and alienated from my glory (*gloria mea*), which I had in heaven in the midst of the angels. Then the Lord God grew angry with me and sent me forth with my angels from our glory (*gloria nostra*). On account of you we were expelled from our dwelling into this world and cast out upon the earth. Immediately we were in grief, since we had been despoiled of so much glory (*gloria*), and we grieved to see you in such a great happiness of delights."[24]

The demoted antagonist's alienation from his former glorious state, then, is several times set in parallel to the exaltation and gifts given to the protoplast: "since we had been despoiled of so much glory (*gloria*), and we grieved to see you in such a great happiness of delights."[25] Later rabbinic traditions also seem to know this motif, as they too find explanations for the provenance of the first humans' luminous attire in the stories of demoted antagonists.

The Cultic Significance of the Clothing Metaphors

Although the enigmatic exchange of conditions and garments between hero and antihero is already familiar from the stories of the first humans, in the

accounts of the exalted patriarchs and prophets—who attempt to regain the protoplast's lost attire—the antagonist's demotion receives a new, one might say *atoning*, significance via its frequent connection to priestly and liturgical traditions. When placed in a cultic dimension, the antagonist not only vacates, by his demotion, the exalted place intended for a new hero, but also and more importantly fulfills a purifying or cathartic function. In this perspective, the demoted figures are often understood as scapegoats, who take upon themselves humanity's impurity and sins and transport this heavy burden into the remote abode of their exile. This seems to reflect one of the fundamental cultic dynamics manifested in the Yom Kippur ordinance, where humanity's entrance into the deity's presence is put in conspicuous correspondence with the removal of human sins into the wilderness by the means of the scapegoat.

This Yom Kippur imagery appears to play a significant role in the conceptual framework of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Yahoel's promise regarding the transference of the celestial garment to the patriarch coincides, in the text, with the angel's testimony that Abraham's sins—literally "his corruption"—are transferred to Azazel:

> "For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you." (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14).[26]

Scholars have previously argued that this striking nexus of motifs is not coincidental, as it betrays a subtle link to the Yom Kippur ordinance.[27] Hence, it is possible that the motif of the patriarch's clothing also bears sacerdotal significance, and is perhaps even related to the cultic symbolism of the Day of Atonement. The text may envision the vestments Abraham receives from Azazel as priestly garments transferred from a demoted celestial priest to a new cultic servant. In order to further clarify the sacerdotal dimension of the celestial garment that Abraham receives from the infamous angel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a short introduction to the traditions of the clothing and re-clothing of the chief cultic celebrant on Yom Kippur is required.

Even a cursory review of the role played by clothing imagery in the atonement ritual demonstrates that the symbolism of the heavenly garments looms large in this cultic ordinance; indeed, it is one of the most pivotal transformational symbols in the entire Yom Kippur ceremony. It is well known from biblical and rabbinic materials that this festival reached its climax in the high priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies. As noted above, this strongly resembles certain dynamics of Jewish apocalyptic accounts, where the seer's entrance into the deity's abode often coincides with the metamorphosis of his earthly body. This signals the arrival of a new citizen of the celestial

community, who now needs new "clothing" to secure his safety in the upper abode. In these accounts, as in the Yom Kippur ceremony, the change of "garments" occurs upon the seer's entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies (often represented by the divine Throne Room).

Despite these striking resemblances, the possible apocalyptic roots of the Yom Kippur ritual remain shrouded in mystery. Did the ritual described in Leviticus develop as a dialogical reaffirmation of the practices of heavenly ascent, that is to say, as the earthly complement to the visionary's eschatological entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies? Or, quite otherwise, did the Levitical ritual arise as a polemical response to such practices, that is, as an attempt to discourage the praxis of the heavenly priesthood by establishing an alternative cultic framework that limits the access to the divine presence on earth to the members of certain priestly clans?[28] There is no clear solution to this question. Yet while the origins of this correlation between apocalyptic symbolism and Yom Kippur imagery remain unclear to the modern scholar, it is interesting to note that the imaginations of earliest interpreters were no less baffled by this striking parallelism. Let us now revisit some of these early exegetical efforts to grapple with the protological and apocalyptic dimensions of the Yom Kippur ritual.

Yom Kippur and the Garden of Eden

As in the narratives of apocalyptic ascent, the transformation of a human person, upon entering the deity's domain, stands at the very center of the Yom Kippur ritual; and as the apocalyptic literature often casts the visionary's ascent in terms of return to the protological abode lost at the Fall, so too the Yom Kippur ritual seems to entertain an important ontological transition, tied at once both to the story of the protological mishap and to humankind's eschatological restoration.[29] In this respect, the Day of Atonement's sacerdotal drama, which culminates in the breaching of the boundary separating human and divine realms, brings us to a very peculiar nexus, not only of eschatological, but also of protological motifs. More precisely, this ritual does not stop at rehearsing the drama of humankind's demotion and expulsion beyond the boundaries of the celestial Garden. It speaks of the exiled creature's eschatological joy, for he is now permitted, by means of this ritual, to reenter his lost abode and regain his abandoned domain and status.

This explains why several early Jewish texts sometimes identify the Holy of Holies with the Garden of Eden. One instance of this identification can be found in the *Book of Jubilees*. Robert Hayward notes that

> Jubilees states that Eden is holier than all the rest of the earth (3:12). According to 8:19, Noah knew that the Garden of Eden

> is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. It would appear, then, that Adam and Eve were brought into the Holy of Holies prior to their disobedience: their expulsion from Eden thus signifies their removal from the place where God's Presence on the earth is most immediate for Israel.[30]

Hayward goes on to suggest that, in these traditions, "the high priest's entry into the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur might, then, in some manner typologically correspond to the first man's return to Eden, for a season, to be reconciled with his Maker face to face."[31]

It is important to note, in this connection, that the theme of the first humans' peculiar attire, and its sacerdotal significance, does not escape the attention of the author(s) of the *Book of Jubilees*. Thus, Hayward observes that the protoplast's garments were possibly understood, in this text, as priestly robes.[32] He points especially to *Jubilees* 3:26–27, where Adam is clothed by the deity prior to his entrance into the Garden of Eden, and then offers sacrifice to God.[33] Noting the subtle detail that Adam made his offering *after* God had clothed him, Hayward suggests that "*Jubilees* possibly held that God had made for Adam priestly vestments."[34] He thus proposes that, for the *Book of Jubilees*, Adam is "constituted the first priest in a succession which will lead to Levi,[35] and then to Aaron and his sons."[36]

Ontological Robes

The motif of the protoplast's sacerdotal vestments, received from the deity upon his entrance into the Garden of Eden, reaffirms the ideological tenets of the Yom Kippur ritual, with its keen attention to the cultic attire suitable for the respective realms. Yet, here as in other cases, clothing metaphors have another, anthropological meaning. They suggest a change, not only in the adept's sacerdotal wardrobe, but in his ontological condition.

In several late Second Temple Jewish texts, the ontological dimension of the celebrant's sacerdotal clothes on Yom Kippur receives special attention. Philo, for instance, understands the exchange of the high priest's garments not merely as symbolic steps of the cultic routine, but as symbols of transition between two ontological conditions, one earthly and another celestial. In *De Mutatione Nominum* 43–44, he reflects on the peculiar symbolism of the high priest's two robes, seeing them as the distinctive "attires" befitting divine and human realms:

> It was this thought which prompted Moses when he wove the tabernacle, dividing its precincts into two, and set a curtain

> between the parts to distinguish the inner from the outer; when too he gilded the sacred ark which holds the laws both within and without, and gave the high priest two robes, the linen robe to be worn within, the many-colored one with the long skirt to be worn outside. These and the like are symbols of a soul which in inward things is undefiled towards God and in outward things is pure towards the world of our senses and human life.[37]

In this passage, the linen robe of the high priest (the garment worn by the celebrant in the Holy of Holies) and his multicolored vestment (worn outside the inner Sanctum) are understood as divine and human dimensions of the soul.[38]

At *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.84, Philo returns to the theme of the sacerdotal clothing and comments on the materials from which both garments are fashioned. The fine linen of the sacerdotal garment worn in the Holy of Holies signifies the immortality of the one who wears it, in contrast to the priestly clothes worn outside the inner shrine, and made of wool—a material taken from the hair of a mortal creature.

> The high priest is bidden to put on a similar dress when he enters the inner shrine to offer incense, because its fine linen is not, like wool, the product of creature subject to death, and also to wear another, the formation of which is very complicated.[39]

While, the celestial status of the sacerdotal adept who enters the inner sancta is only hinted at in this text, several places in *De Somniis* (*Som.* 2.28 §189; 2.34 §231)[40] unambiguously affirm the unique ontological status of the Yom Kippur celebrant by pointing to his "non-human" nature during his stay in the Holy of Holies:

> a being whose nature is midway between [man and] God, less than God, superior to man. "For when the high priest enters the Holy of Holies he shall not be a man."[41]

Moreover, it seems that Philo conceives of the high priest as a mediator, who, by entering the Holy of Holies, breaches the boundary separating earthly and heavenly realms. Thus, for example, in *De Somniis* II.231 he unveils the following tradition:

> The good man indeed is on the border-line, so that we may say, quite properly, that he is neither God nor man, but bounded at either end by the two, by mortality because of his manhood, by

> incorruption because of his virtue. Similar to this is the oracle given about the high priest: "when he enters," it says, "into the Holy of Holies, he will not be a man until he comes out." And if he then becomes no man, clearly neither is he God, but God's minister, through the mortal in him in affinity with creation, though the immortal with the uncreated, and he retains this midway place until he comes out again to the realm of body and flesh.[42]

All these distinctive testimonies from a great Hellenistic writer show that he, not unlike other early interpreters, tried to envision the Yom Kippur ritual as a transformative sacerdotal event, which proleptically anticipates and celebrates the eschatological return of humankind to its original immortal condition.[43]

Clothes of Ascent

We have seen that biblical and rabbinic accounts of the Yom Kippur ritual demonstrate striking similarities to a cluster of peculiar motifs also prominent in Jewish apocalyptic and mystical texts. We also observed that the roots and priority of these mutual correspondences are difficult to establish, since already in some biblical accounts the Yom Kippur symbolism betrays its distinctive visionary mold. While the true extent of the apocalyptic influences on the Yom Kippur ritual remain shrouded in mystery, it is quite clear that this ritual's imagery has captivated apocalypticists' imaginations for many generations. The earliest Jewish visionary accounts, stemming from the Enochic tradition, seek to establish the apocalyptic thrust of the atonement ritual on a new conceptual level, and propel its distinctive symbolism in an entirely new eschatological dimension. The striking potential for humankind's metamorphosis, cryptically embedded in the priestly rite through the changes of the celebrant's garments, thus receives further symbolic elaboration in the transformational accounts of the apocalyptic tradition. In the literature of this tradition, the initiate's daring eyes behold an array of transformational possibilities, which, until this apocalyptic moment, had remained deeply concealed under the veil of the sacerdotal ritual.

In extra-biblical pseudepigraphic accounts, the transformational thrust of the Yom Kippur ritual reaches its new conceptual and symbolic dimension. The adept of this kind of apocalyptic narrative is not merely dressed in the linen garb of the sacerdotal clothes upon his entrance into the divine presence. The profound and often terrifying changes he experiences far surpass his lofty wardrobes; his very flesh and bones are suddenly annihilated by the divine fire,[44] the substance that refashions the visionary's mortal body into

an angelic or even a divine corporeality. The striking metamorphoses affect not only the protagonist of the apocalyptic narrative, but also his infamous counterpart. Demoted subjects, including fallen angels, are drawn into an overarching drama of transformation, thus becoming part of the cosmic ordeal mysteriously outlined in the Yom Kippur ritual. Like its sacerdotal celebrants, the other actors in the ritual—including the scapegoat, its infamous antagonistic sacrifice—are also reinterpreted eschatologically and cosmically in the apocalyptic tradition.

A remarkable example of the apocalyptic reformulation of an antagonist is found in the *Book of the Watchers*, an early Enochic work stemming from the early Second Temple period. In this text, the scapegoat rite is reinterpreted angelologically, via the incorporation of details from the Yom Kippur ritual into the history of its rebel, the fallen angel Asael. The cosmic tragedy of the angelic servant's demotion unfolds in the midst of the exaltation of the patriarch Enoch. Notably for our investigation, the profiles of both characters are overlaid with explicit and implicit liturgical connections. Thus, Asael, who is envisioned as the sacrificial agent of the atoning ritual, is openly juxtaposed with Enoch, who is understood as the celestial high priest entering the heavenly Holy of Holies. While Asael and other Watchers abandon their stations and attempt to assume a variety of human roles—including familial duties of husbands and fathers[45]—Enoch progresses into the upper realm and assumes various angelic roles. Here, as in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the offices of the fallen angel(s), which correspond to his unique celestial status, are transferred to a human being *en route* to the divine presence. This exchange of "gifts" between positive and negative characters is reciprocal; the angelic antagonist also receives a gift, though a rather unpleasant one, in the form of the "defilement" associated with the human condition.

This dynamic mimics the peculiar processions of protagonist and antagonist on the Day of Atonement, in the course of which the high priest enters the divine presence while the scapegoat is exiled into the wilderness.[46] The *Book of the Watchers* reflects the same cultic pattern, as its hero Enoch progresses in the opposite direction of his antagonistic counterpart Asael, ascending into heaven and acquiring a special priestly status that allows him to enter the celestial sanctuary. Several scholars have previously noted this point.[47] *1 En.* 14:9–18 reads:

> And I proceeded until I came near to a wall which was built of hailstones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me afraid. And I went into the tongue of fire and came near to a large house which was built of hailstones, and the wall of

> that house (was) like a mosaic (made) of hailstones, and its floor (was) snow. Its roof (was) like the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and among them (were) fiery Cherubim, and their heaven (was like) water. And (there was) a fire burning around its wall, and its door was ablaze with fire. And I went into that house, and (it was) hot as fire and cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor life in it. Fear covered me and trembling, I fell on my face. And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house, which was larger than the former, and all its doors (were) open before me, and (it was) built of a tongue of fire. And in everything it so excelled in glory and splendor and size that I am unable to describe to you its glory and its size. And its floor (was) fire, and above (were) lightning and the path of the stars, and its roof also (was) a burning fire. And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance (was) like ice and its surroundings like the shining sun and the sound of Cherubim.[48]

In commenting on this passage, Martha Himmelfarb draws attention to the peculiar description of the celestial edifices that Enoch encounters in his approach to the Throne. The Ethiopic text reports that, in order to reach God's Throne, the patriarch passes through three celestial constructions: a wall, an outer house, and an inner house; the Greek version mentions a house instead of a wall. As Himmelfarb observes, "[M]ore clearly in the Greek, but also in the Ethiopic, this arrangement echoes the structure of the earthly temple with its vestibule (אולם), sanctuary (היכל), and the Holy of Holies (דביר)."[49] God's throne is located in the innermost chamber of this heavenly structure and is represented by a throne of cherubim (14:18). It can be seen as a heavenly counterpart to the cherubim found in the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem Temple.

Himmelfarb also suggests that in the *Book of the Watchers* the patriarch himself, in the course of his ascent, becomes a priest,[50] similar to the angels.[51] In this light, Enoch's angelic status and priestly role[52] appear to be interconnected. Himmelfarb stresses that "the author of the *Book of the Watchers* claims angelic status for Enoch through his service in the heavenly temple," since "the ascent shows him passing through the outer court of the temple and the sanctuary to the door of the Holy of Holies, where God addresses him with his own mouth."[53] The seer's entrance into the divine Throne Room, and vision of the Glory of God, suggests strongly that the *Book of the Watchers* elaborates an apocalyptic version of the Yom Kippur celebration, which, like its earthy cultic counterpart, culminates with the celebrant's entrance into the divine presence.

Although the apocalyptic reenactment of the Yom Kippur ritual in the *Book of the Watchers* does not openly invoke the imagery of the celebrant's garments, other pseudepigraphic accounts often do. For example, in the depiction of the initiation of a heavenly priest reflected in the *T. Levi* 8 and *2 En.* 22, symbolism of sacerdotal clothes looms large.[54] Moreover, as in the aforementioned Adamic developments, these descriptions also betray distinctive protological connections; at both *T. Levi* 8 and *2 En.* 22, the priestly investitures of the hero appear to be understood as the glorious garments of the first humans. The *T. Levi* 8:2–10 offers the following depiction of Levi's celestial investiture:

> And I saw seven men in white clothing, saying to me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood and the crown of righteousness and breastplate of understanding and the garment of truth and the plate of faith and the turban of (giving) a sign and the ephod of prophecy. And each of them carried these things and put them on me, and said: From now on become a priest of the Lord, you and your seed for ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil and gave a staff of judgment. The second washed me with pure water and fed me with bread and wine, most holy things, and put round me a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The forth put round me a girdle like a purple (robe). The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth put a crown on my head. The seventh put on me a diadem of the priesthood. And they filled my hands with incense that I might serve as a priest to the Lord.[55]

In this stunning passage, the visionary acquires a glorious robe—an event tied to a whole array of subtle allusions to the actions and attributes of the high priest. The vestment's glorious nature invokes the memory of the first humans' garments, and a series of other protological markers reinforce this connection. One such hint may be the olive branch, which possibly refers cryptically both to a menorah and to the Tree of Life, and thus provides an important conceptual bridge that helps to unify the narrative's protological and sacerdotal dimensions.

In *2 En.* 22, the visionary's reception of the glorious garment again appears alongside a cluster of cultic and protological motifs. *2 En.* 22:9 depicts Enoch's arrival into the deity's abode. This entrance into the divine presence necessitates an adjustment in Enoch's wardrobe. Then the archangel Michael extracts Enoch from his clothes and anoints him with delightful oil. This oil is "greater than the greatest light and its ointment is like sweet dew, and the fragrance [like] myrrh; and it is like rays of the glittering sun."[56] This anointing transforms the patriarch, whose garments of skin are

replaced by the luminous garment of an immortal angelic being, one of the glorious ones. As in the *Testament of Levi*, the unity of the story's sacerdotal and protological dimensions is secured through the pivotal arboreal symbol: thus, it appears that that the oil used in Enoch's anointing comes from the Tree of Life, which in *2 En.* 8:3–4 is depicted with a similar symbolism:

> [T]he tree [of life] is indescribable for pleasantness and fine fragrance, and more beautiful than any (other) created thing that exists. And from every direction it has an appearance which is gold-looking and crimson, and with the form of fire.[57]

The shorter recension refers to a second olive tree, near the first, which is "flowing with oil continually."[58] Here, as in the *Testament of Levi*, the adept's initiation and re-dressing coincides with his anointing, which tries to unify several theological dimensions, sacerdotal as well as protological. In this respect, Enoch's investiture with celestial garments and anointing with shining oil represents not only his priestly initiation, but the restoration of fallen humanity.

The *Primary Adam Books* also attest to this anointing tradition and underscore its significance in the eschatological restoration of the protoplast. The tradition surfaces, for example, in the Armenian version's depiction of Adam's burial; the protoplast is clothed with linen garments brought by archangels from Paradise, and then anointed with oil:

> After this, God spoke to Michael and said, "Go to the Garden of the [third] heaven and bring [me] three linen cloths." When he had brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozel and to Gabriel, "Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam's body, and bring sweet oil." They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment.[59]

In light of this Adamic passage, it seems rather clear that the anointing of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse signals the return of fallen humankind to the original condition of the protoplast and his garments of light.

Distinctively sacerdotal symbolism also permeates the scene of restoration in *2 Enoch*. Martha Himmelfarb observes that "the combination of clothing and anointing suggests that the process by which Enoch becomes an angel is a heavenly version of priestly investiture."[60] Crispin Fletcher-Louis also discerns a cultic dimension in Enoch's newly acquired garments, suggesting that

> Enoch's transformation in *2 Enoch* is greatly indebted to priestly practice and its understanding of investiture. The myrrh fragrance

> of the oil of Enoch's anointing recalls the sacred oil of anointing prescribed by Moses for the tabernacle in Exod 30:22–23. The comparison of the oil with sweet dew is perhaps a reflection of Psalm 133:2–3 where there is a parallelism between the oil running down the head of Aaron and the dew of Mount Hermon. The reference to the glittering rays of the sun is yet one more witness to the theme of priestly luminescence. The specific comparison of the oil of anointing with the sun's rays is ultimately dependent on the priestly tradition within the Pentateuch since there the oil of anointing is placed in God's fourth speech to Moses in Exod 25–31 as a parallel within the Tabernacle instructions to the creation of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day of creation (Gen 1:14–19). In general terms Enoch's investiture is indebted to the scene in Zechariah 3 where the high priest's old clothes are removed and replaced with new ones. In that scene too the priest is attended by angels, just as Michael acts as Enoch's attendant in *2 Enoch* (see *T. Levi* 8). In *2 En.* 22:6 Enoch is granted permanent access to God's throne room, just as Joshua is given rights of access to the heavenly realm in Zech 3:7. The concluding chapters of *2 Enoch* (chs. 69–73) are devoted to the priestly succession after Enoch's ascension.[61]

In the past, scholarly attention has been often focused either on the cultic or protological dimensions of Enoch's anointment and investiture.[62] Yet, sometimes, students of *2 Enoch* have proved reluctant to recognize the synthetic nature of this imagery. Nevertheless, in the Slavonic account priestly and protological details seem to be seamlessly interwoven.

Priestly Garments of Abraham

It is now time to return to the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where the transference of Azazel's angelic garment to the patriarch reflects similar sacerdotal associations. Scholars have previously noted that the details in the enigmatic story of Abraham's changing wardrobe seem to invoke traditions from several biblical prophetic texts. Recall that, in *Apoc. Ab.* 13, Abraham is caught up into an arcane interaction between the demon Azazel and the angel Yahoel. Azazel attempts to discourage Abraham from ascending into the celestial realm, warning him that he will be destroyed there by fire, while Yahoel tries to strengthen the will of Abraham and rebuke the demon.

That fact that Abraham stands between two celestial figures,[63] one of whom is a good angel and the other his evil counterpart,[64] is reminiscent

of the account in Zechariah 3, where the high priest Joshua is depicted as standing between two spirits.[65] In Zechariah, as in the Slavonic apocalypse, distinctive priestly concerns are conflated with the motif of the change of garments; thus Zechariah 3–4 reads:

> Then he showed me the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him. And the Lord said to Satan, "The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this man a brand plucked from the fire?" Now Joshua was dressed with filthy clothes as he stood before the angel. The angel said to those who were standing before him, "Take off his filthy clothes." And to him he said, "See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel." And I said, "Let them put a clean turban on his head." So they put a clean turban on his head and clothed him with the apparel; and the angel of the Lord was standing by. Then the angel of the Lord assured Joshua, saying "Thus says the Lord of hosts: If you will walk in my ways and keep my requirements, then you shall rule my house and have charge of my courts, and I will give you the right of access among those who are standing here. Now listen, Joshua, high priest, you and your colleagues who sit before you! For they are an omen of things to come: I am going to bring my servant the Branch. For on the stone that I have set before Joshua, on a single stone with seven facets, I will engrave its inscription, says the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the guilt of this land in a single day. On that day, says the Lord of hosts, you shall invite each other to come under your vine and fig tree." The angel who talked with me came again, and wakened me, as one is wakened from sleep. He said to me, "What do you see?" And I said, "I see a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl on the top of it; there are seven lamps on it, with seven lips on each of the lamps that are on the top of it. And by it there are two olive trees, one on the right of the bowl and the other on its left." (NRSV)

In this striking passage we find a description of the priestly initiation in which a high priest receives the pure garment. This invokes the memory of other cultic initiations in Jewish apocalyptic texts, like the aforementioned *T. Levi* 8 and *2 En.* 22, where the exalted patriarchs receive priestly robes. As with Zechariah 3, these texts allude to the anthropological significance

of priestly initiation, which symbolizes return to the original condition of the protoplast by stripping off the filthy garments of fallen humanity. All three accounts are unified by the motif of the Tree of Life, which points at once to the Garden of Eden and to the Temple, its earthly counterpart.

The parallels between Zech 3–4 and the *Apoc. Ab.* 13–14 allow us to better understand the sacerdotal context of the Slavonic account, and its connection with the Day of Atonement. Indeed, as Daniel Stökl has observed, in comparison it seems that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* develops the prophetic cultic imagery more decisively: "compared to Zech 3, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* embellishes the Yom Kippur imagery."[66] Unlike Zechariah, where the soiled garment of the priestly figure is simply exchanged for the pure one, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the transformational pattern appears to be more radical; it involves the memory of the specific context of the Yom Kippur ritual, where the scapegoat takes upon itself humanity's defilement. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the priestly initiate's "soiled" garments are not simply exchanged for pure ones, as in Zechariah. They are transferred to Azazel. This evokes the cathartic nature of the Yom Kippur ritual, in which the sin of humanity was transferred to the scapegoat.

The *Apoc. Ab.* 13 graphically underlines this exchange:

> And he said to him, "Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth. . . . For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you" (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14).[67]

David Halperin previously reflected on the importance of the motif of the wardrobe exchange between positive and negative protagonists:

> [W]e see here the theme, which we have already met in the stories of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers* and of Adam in the "Apocalypse of Moses," of the exaltation of the human and the degradation of the angel corresponding to each other and to some extent depending on each other. If Azazel can persuade Abraham not to make his ascent, he will perhaps be able to keep his own privileged status.[68]

It should be stressed again that the connections between the initiation scenes in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and Zechariah are important since they help to illumine the priestly nature of the peculiar transitions that the hero of the faith undergoes immediately before his entrance into the Throne Room in the upper heaven, the sacred locale envisioned in the text as the celestial counterpart of the earthy Holy of Holies.[69]

Scholars have lamented the apparent dearth of decisively priestly transformation in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.[70] Yet I think Martha Himmelfarb is correct when she suggests that the promise of a garment given to a seer immediately before his entrance into heaven fulfils, in this text, the function of the actual re-clothing. She notices that although Abraham does not undergo a transformation as explicit as that of Enoch, Isaiah, or Zephaniah, and he is never actually provided with a garment, he has been promised one.[71]

Transformation of the Antagonist

Garments of Descent

On the basis of our previous investigation it seems that the transformation of the patriarch in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* depends in many ways on the peculiar changes affecting his antagonistic counterpart—the fallen angel Azazel. The exaltation of the one depends upon the demotion of the other, who had once prospered in an elevated domicile but is now forcefully expelled from this domain. As with entrance into the upper realm, removal is laden as well with profound changes in the spiritual and physical states of the characters. Like the heroes of the apocalyptic accounts, who undergo spectacular metamorphoses preparing them for the novel conditions of their newly acquired celestial domains, the metamorphoses of the antagonists have an ontological significance, foreshadowing the fate of the deity's former favorites now transported, by the will of the Creator, into the lower realms.[72] From this negative transformation, often conveyed in detail in various pseudepigraphical accounts, readers gain insight into the peculiar refashioning of the celestial "garments" of the demoted antagonists, who undergo transitions into new forms suited to their exilic realms.

By observing these ominous changes in the antihero (which, paradoxically, mock the protagonist's metamorphosis) readers of the visionary accounts gaze into the logic of a kind of negative transformational mysticism.[73] This process plays an important role in apocalyptic stories as an apophatic reaffirmation of the hero's transformative motifs.

The perplexed complexity of the negative routine endured by the demoted agents should not be underestimated. The acquisition of the novel ontological "garments" bestowed on an antagonist is often surrounded with the most recondite and puzzling imagery to be found in the apocalyptic accounts. These accounts offer the eyes of their beholders a stunning plethora of cryptic depictions, in which the composite physiques of the demoted heroes often represent a bizarre mixture of demonic and heavenly attributes. This hybrid nature of the negative heroes' visible manifestations suggests that, despite their exile into the lower realms, these formerly celestial

creatures were never intended to function as the harmonious inhabitants of their newly acquired environments; rather, they were predestined to become the agents of a foreboding corrupting change—a change often fatal to the realms of their exile.

In this respect, it is no coincidence that in the Slavonic apocalypse (as in many other pseudepigraphical accounts dealing with the demotion of fallen angels) so much attention should be spent on depictions of Azazel's various transitional shapes, the portrayals that represent creative improvisations on the theme of the corruption of an antagonist's original celestial form. Already in his debut at *Apoc. Ab.* 13, Azazel is designated as an "impure bird"—the sobriquet which, in the peculiar symbolic code of the apocalypse's pteromorphic angelology, points to the corruption of his celestial form.[74] Interestingly, the fallen angel's "celestial" attributes appear repeatedly in many other portrayals of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, serving throughout as pointed reminders of his forfeited heavenly status.

Hence, when later, in the heavenly throne room, Abraham sees a protological manifestation of the demoted angel, his vision combines both angelomorphic and theriomorphic attributes; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:4–11 reads:

> And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of vine. And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left. And he was holding in his hands the grapes of the tree and feeding the two whom I saw entwined with each other. And I said, "Who are these two entwined with each other, or who is this between them, or what is the fruit which they are eating, Mighty Eternal One?" And he said, "This is the reason of men, this is Adam, and this is their desire on earth, this is Eve. And he who is between them is the Impiety of their pursuits for destruction, Azazel himself."[75]

In this text, the negative protagonist has a composite physique which combines features of a serpent ("a serpent in form") and an angel ("wings on its shoulders"). This unusual combination of two forms—animal and angelic—in the appearance of the seducer during his corruption of the protoplasts brings to mind the peculiar cluster of traditions about Satan's

appearance found in the *Primary Adam Books*. There, too, in the course of the seduction of the first human couple, the negative protagonist is endowed with a polymorphic shape that combines features of a serpent and an angel.[76] In light of these similarities, a short excursus into the traditions of Satan's appearances in the *Primary Adam Books* is necessary.

In various versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the chief antagonist—Satan—undergoes a set of enigmatic and sometimes puzzling transformations into angelic and theriomorphic manifestations; he acquires, temporarily, the shapes of either an animal (a serpent) or a glorious angel. In this respect, it is intriguing that the two forms manifested in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*'s depiction of the Corruptor also appear in the *Primary Adam Books*, in the narratives dealing with the seduction or temptation of the first humans. And these temporal appearances are envisioned as "garments" of Satan, possibly understood as the disposable clothes which the Deceiver can easily switch over in the course of executing his evil plans.

Satan's Angelic Garment

It is not without design that one of the most intense conceptual crossroads dealing with Satan's transformations should be situated amidst scenes of the protoplasts' seduction; for the Deceiver tries to disguise his identity and pose as someone else by assuming the forms of an angelic messenger or an animal. Moreover, he appears to enjoy the ability to reenter the impermanent "garments" he had already used for deception in the past; hence his temporary use of angelic "garments" occurs not once but several times in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.[77]

The *Primary Adam Books* do not conceal the fact that in the beginning Satan was a very special celestial creature possessing an exalted and even glorious status in the heavenly realm—the position from which he was removed by the deity after his refusal to venerate the newly created protoplast. Yet unlike some other demoted agents—including the protoplasts, who are quietly and obediently exiled to the lower realms—Satan seems to retain the courage and power needed to entertain the possibility of returning to the upper regions to execute vengeance against his enemies, the first humans. This paradoxal ability, to be topologically present in the upper regions despite his demotion, may constitute an important prerequisite for the Deceiver's power to take multiple forms befitting his evil plans.

The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 17:1–2a attests Satan's ability to assume temporarily the shape of an angelic being:

> When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise

> God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not see him.[78]

Although the Adversary's acquisition of an angelic form appears temporary,[79] this passage also suggests that Satan's apparitions are not completely illusory, for they have functional potential. It is quite curious that, along with his mimesis of the angelic *form*, Satan also attempts to imitate the *functions* of the angelic beings by participating in the angelic liturgy. This ability, not merely to take angelic form but also to function in newly acquired "garments," appears to grant more substance and credibility to his transformation, as other characters in the story are depicted as attending to his praises.

The *Life of Adam and Eve* goes on to say that Satan appeared (again) to Eve as an angel during the second temptation. This time the Deceiver's angelic appearance seems to be even loftier, as the text repeatedly identifies him as a cherub endowed with a special luminous vestment. The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 9:1–2 provides further details regarding this angelic manifestation:

> When eighteen days of their weeping were completed, then Satan took on the form of a cherub with splendid attire, and went to the Tigris river to deceive Eve. Her tears were falling on her attire, down to the ground. Satan said to Eve, "Come forth from the water and rest, for God has hearkened to your penitence, to you and Adam your husband."[80]

It is striking that, in this second temptation, Satan appears in angelic form—indeed, as a cherubic creature. Cherubic imagery vis-à-vis the antagonist also looms large in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where Azazel combines the attributes of two cherubim joined together.[81] At *Apoc. Ab.* 23, e.g., the demon has twelve wings—six on the right side of his body and six on the left:

> And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left.[82]

Earlier in the *Apoc. Ab.*, when the hero of faith sees the "Living Creatures of the Cherubim" in the heavenly Throne Room each of them has six wings:

> And under the throne [I saw] four singing fiery Living Creatures . . . and each one had six wings: from their shoulders, <and from their sides,> and from their loins (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3–6).[83]

Another intriguing detail of the account found in the *Primary Adam Books* is that, during the first and second temptations of the protoplasts, Satan's angelic shape is described as luminous in nature. The first temptation underlines the fact that the Deceiver came "with radiance." Eve's second temptation refers again to Satan's splendid attire; this detail may hint at the fact that the assumption of angelic form is understood as wearing a garment, and this attire might parallel the first humans' luminous vestments. This understanding of luminous angelic form as "garment" is especially evident in the Georgian version of the second temptation, which openly refers to the Adversary's angelic form as his clothes or his "garment":

> When the twelve days of his weeping were completed, the devil trembled and changed his shape and his clothes by his artful deceit. He went close to Eve, on the Tigris river, and stood beside the bank. He was weeping and had his false tears dripping (trickling) down on his garment and from his garment down to the ground. Then he told Eve, "Come out of that water (where you are) and stop your tribulations, for God has hearkened to your penitence and to Adam your husband."[84]

Satan's Theriomorphic Garment

The scene of the first temptation and seduction of the protoplast without doubt represents one of the most intense conceptual crossroads manifesting the transformational capacities of the antagonist. Hence, it is little surprise that, similarly to Satan's first dissembling in angelic garments—which took place for the first time during the seduction of the protoplasts—the transition to an animal garment is also found here.

Primary Adam Books 44 has Satan abandoning his angelic manifestation and entering the animal form of a serpent[85] in order to deceive the protoplasts. Yet Satan's new identity is not entirely unambiguous, since pseudepigraphic and rabbinic accounts often provide various interpretations of the serpent's gender. Some of these sources seem to understand the serpent as an androgynous creature, whose skin God later used to create the "garments" of both Adam and Eve. The tradition of clothing the first humans in the "attire" of the serpent is especially intriguing in light of Satan's acquisition of the same garments in the *Primary Adam Books*. Does Satan's "clothing" as serpent proleptically anticipate the future re-clothing of the protoplasts in garments of skin?

Satan's endowment with the "animal garment" of the serpent can be understood as the anti-paradigm of transformational mysticism. The antagonist's transition from an upper (angelic) to a lower (animal) form brings to mind the opposite metamorphosis, that is to say, the glorious

metamorphosis of the apocalyptic visionary, who undergoes a transition from garments of skin into garments of light.

The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* offers the following account of Satan's transformation:

> The serpent said, "In what way or how can we expel him from the Garden?" Satan said to the serpent, "Be you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth, so that we may be able to help." Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not see him. Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him, "Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need to say." At that time the serpent became a lyre for him, and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, "Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you."[86]

Satan's animal manifestation is not merely a phantom or an ideal apparition; he inhabits the actual living creature, and thus becomes a sort of possessive spirit within this living being that functions alongside and upon its true proprietor.[87]

In another passage from the *Primary Adam Books*, Satan again appears to assume a theriomorphic shape—this time the shape of a wild beast. Hence, on their journey to Paradise in order to obtain the oil of resurrection needed to heal the dying Adam, Eve and Seth encounter a mysterious creature labeled, in the narrative, as the wild beast. In the Greek version of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the story takes the following form:

> Then Seth and Eve went toward the direction of the Garden. [And while they were going,] Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him. And Eve wept and said: "Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: 'Eve has not kept the commandment of God.'" And she spoke to the beast: "You wicked beast, Do you not fear to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth opened? How were your teeth made strong? How did you not call to mind your subjection? For long ago you were made subject to the image of

> God." Then the beast cried out and said: "It is not our concern, Eve, your greed and your wailing, but your own; for (it is) from you that the rule of the beasts has arisen. How was your mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also has been transformed. Now therefore you cannot endure it, if I begin to reprove you." Then Seth spoke to the beast, "Close your mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment." Then the beast said to Seth: "Behold, I stand off from the image of God." [And the beast fled and left him wounded] and went to his hut.[88]

One of the important details of this intriguing encounter between the primordial humans and a hostile animal is presence of the peculiar terminology of the "image of God." This formula invokes the memory of Satan's rebellion, when he refused to worship the image of God. During the hostile encounter between the animal and Seth, who is defined in the story as a bearer of the "image of God," the wild beast does not fear "to fight with the image of God." This confluence of motifs related to the beast's antagonism toward the image of God in Seth appears to allude to Satan's original protological opposition to another, original bearer of the divine image: Adam. In this we therefore see the second instance of a rebellious stand against the Image of God, a rebellion that mirrors Satan's refusal to venerate the newly created protoplast. Scholars have previously noticed this connection; when commenting on Seth's rebuke, "Get away from the image of God," Gary Anderson suggests that

> this rebuke has some rather clear resonances with another key moment in the Vita's story-line. It sounds very much like the instructions Satan and the other angels received at the moment of Adam's creation, "Prosternez vous devant le semblable et l'image de la divinite" (14:1).[89]

The writers and editors of various versions of the *Primary Adam Books* seem also to discern this ominous connection between the Adversary and the animal.[90] Although Greek, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* do not name the wild beast as Satan, the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* openly entertains this possibility:

> Thereafter, Seth and Eve went in the direction of the Garden. As they were going, Eve saw that a wild beast was fighting with [her son] Seth and was biting him. Eve began to weep and she

> said, "[When] that the day of Judgment came; all sins will be blamed upon me and (men) will say, 'Our mother did not hearken to the commandment of the Lord God!'" Eve called out against the wild beast and said, "O wild beast, how do you [not] fear the image of God, that you dared to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth open[ed] and your fangs bared, and your hair stood on end? How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed, that your mouth was opened against the image of God?" Then the wild beast cried out and said to Eve, "In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you. How was your mouth opened to dare to eat of the fruit concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? [Until he will change all of our natures, henceforth you are unable to resist that which I speak to you, or if I begin to rebuke you.]" Then Seth said to the wild beast, "Close your mouth, O Satan. Get away from the image of God until [[the day will come]] on which God will bring you to rebuke.]" Then he said to Seth, "Behold, I am standing apart from you, the image of God." The beast fled from him.[91]

As in the first temptation of the protoplasts, in this text Satan appears to take the form of an animal in order to challenge the protoplasts and their progeny.

Vessels of Evil: The Antagonist's "Possession" of the "Living" Form

The *Primary Adam Books* demonstrate the perplexing fluidity of the forms of Satan; in some episodes the mercurial Adversary assumes not one, but several shapes. These texts often depict the antagonist's rapid transition from one manifestation to another. Such a speedy change is especially notable during Eve's first temptation. In this scene, Satan takes the form of both an angel and a serpent, and even assumes another, invisible condition[92] between these two manifestations. The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* graphically depicts these changes:

> Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not

> see him. Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him, "Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need to say." At that time the serpent became a lyre for him, and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, "Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you." When I went to him, he said to me, "Are you Eve?" I said, "Yes, I am." He replied and said, "What do you do in [the Garden]?" I said to him, "God set us to guard the Garden," Satan replied and said to me through the mouth of the serpent, "This work is good, but come, do you eat of [all] the trees which are in the Garden?" I said to him, "Yes, we eat of all of them except only of that one tree which is in the very middle of the Garden, concerning which God commanded us, 'Do not eat of it, for if you eat you will surely die.'" (17:1–5).[93]

The Georgian version maintains the same transformational pattern; it too attests the fluidity of Satan's manifestations, describing his transitions into invisible, angelic, and theriomophic states:

> And the two of them came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the Garden at the time where the angels had ascended to prostrate before God. Then the Devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he sang the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the wall to hear the praises. I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible for he had gone forth to bring the serpent. And he told him, "Arise and come and I will be with you and I will speak though your mouth that which it is proper for you to say." He took on the form of the serpent (to go) close to the wall of the Garden and the Devil slipped inside the serpent and he allowed his head to hang on the wall of the Garden.[94]

Michael Stone suggests that the invisible condition Satan often assumes between taking other visible shapes is intended to underline the fact that these visible forms are temporal illusions or mirages. As Stone rightly observes, when "challenged, he disappears from sight."[95]

Another important transformational feature (already mentioned above) is that Satan is able to take possession of the "living forms" of existing characters. This is clear from the case of the serpent; Satan is able to enter existing bodies and function alongside their genuine personalities. "The devil answered," says the text, "through the mouth of the serpent."

According to Michael Stone, in these transformational accounts Satan comes into "possession" of certain characters of the story, who thus become Satan's instruments or "tools."[96] Stone observes that in the *Primary Adam Books*,

> Satan says to the serpent, according to the Greek, "be my vessel and I will speak through your mouth words to deceive them." The word "vessel" seems to imply the idea of possession. . . . Satan is identical for all practical purposes with the serpent; Satan enters or possesses the serpent and speaks through its mouth; the serpent is Satan's instrument or tool.[97]

Stone discerns a similar development in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 13, where Samael "rides" the serpent as a camel.[98] He notes that the chapter 13 opens with

> the theme of angelic jealousy of Adam and Adam's superiority to the angels in his ability to name the animals. The fall of the archangel Samael is described, together with his host. He found the serpent, and "its likeness was like a sort of camel and he mounted it and rode it." This relationship is likened to that of a horse and a rider (cf. Exod 15:1, 21).[99]

Zohar I.35b, attesting a similar tradition, also understands Samael/Satan as the "rider" of the serpent:

> R. Isaac said: "This is the evil tempter." R. Judah said that it means literally a serpent. They consulted R. Simeon, and he said to them: "Both are correct. It was Samael, and he appeared on a serpent, for the ideal form of the serpent is the Satan. We have learnt that at that moment Samael came down from heaven riding on this serpent, and all creatures saw his form and fled before him."[100]

The same mystical compendium depicts Azazel as a rider on the serpent:

> Now observe a deep and holy mystery of faith, the symbolism of the male principle and the female principle of the universe. In the former are comprised all holinesses and objects of faith, and all life, all freedom, all goodness, all illuminations emerge from thence; all blessings, all benevolent dews, all graces and

> kindnesses—all these are generated from that side, which is called the South. Contrariwise, from the side of the North there issue a variety of grades, extending downwards, to the world below. This is the region of the dross of gold, which comes from the side of impurity and loathsomeness and which forms a link between the upper and nether regions; and there is the line where the male and female principles join, forming together the rider on the serpent, and symbolized by Azazel (*Zohar* I.152b–153a).[101]

This description strikingly recalls the portrayal of Azazel's corruption of the protoplasts in *Apoc. Ab.* 23:4–11, which situates the arch-demon beneath the Tree of Knowledge in the midst of the intertwined protological couple. Thus, it seems that Satan's transition from celestial to "serpent-like" form is not a novelty pioneered by the authors of the Adamic booklets, but rather an improvisation on a theme with ancient roots in Enochic tradition.

Azazel's Theriomorphism: From Sacrificial Animal to Fallen Angel

The story of Satan's transformation from animal into angel (and vice versa) in the *Primary Adam Books* leads us naturally to certain developments in one of the earliest Enochic booklets, viz., the *Book of the Watchers*, which may constitute the initial conceptual background to the Adamic antagonist's peculiar transformation. Nor did the *Apocalypse of Abraham* escape these seminal influences. It has been noted that the sacerdotal context of the Yom Kippur festival seems to affect the chief antagonist's complex profile in the Slavonic apocalypse. In this text, allusions to Yom Kippur seem to have been reshaped deeply by the Enochic apocalyptic reinterpretation of the scapegoat ritual; its antagonist, the scapegoat Azazel, is envisioned not as a sacrificial animal but as a demoted heavenly being. In the *Book of the Watchers*, the scapegoat rite receives an angelological reinterpretation; it merges the peculiar dynamic of the sacrificial ritual with the story of its main antagonist, the fallen angel Asael.

1 En. 10:4-7 brings us to the very heart of this conceptual development:

> And further the Lord said to Raphael: "Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may

> be hurled into the fire. And restore the earth which the angels have ruined, and announce the restoration of the earth, for I shall restore the earth."[102]

Scholars have previously pointed to the fact that several details in the account of Asael's punishment are reminiscent of the scapegoat ritual. Lester Grabbe's research outlines the specific parallels between the Asael narrative in *1 Enoch* and the wording of Leviticus 16, which include:

1. the similarity of the names Asael and Azazel;
2. the punishment in the desert;
3. the placing of sin on Asael/Azazel;
4. the resultant healing of the land.[103]

It is important to note that Asael's transformation into an animal is not limited solely to the *Book of the Watchers*. The same imagery also occupies an important place in the *Animal Apocalypse*, which depicts the fall of the Watchers as the mutation of stars into animals.[104] In this Enochic booklet, the theriomorphism of the former angels is juxtaposed with the angelomorphism of Noah[105] and Moses,[106] whose bodies undergo an inverse refashioning that transforms them from "animals" into "humans." In the peculiar symbolic code of this apocalyptic work, this imagery signals the fact that Noah and Moses have thus acquired angelic bodies.

The Garment of Darkness

In the aforementioned passage about the binding of Asael during the sacrificial ritual in the desert (in *1 En.* 10) we find an intriguing tradition about clothing the demon with darkness:

> And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire.[107]

The antagonist's covering with darkness is a pertinent motif for our investigation, as it may represent a conceptual correlative to the hero's clothing with light. Asael's covering with darkness appear to be a sort of counterpart to the garment of light which Enoch receives in heaven. This ominous attire deprives its wearer of receiving the divine light—the source of life for all God's creatures.

That it is the face of the demon which is thus clothed with darkness may recall a series of transformational motifs involving, respectively, God's *Panim* and the *panim* of the visionary. This terminology is quite well known in Jewish apocalyptic literature. It does not merely designate the protagonist's or deity's visage *per se*, but symbolizes their complete covering with luminous attire.

The Impure Bird

The Enochic demonological template factors significantly in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which envisions Azazel, like the Enochic antagonist, as a fallen angelic being. Indeed, the Azazel narrative of this later apocalypse reflects several peculiar details from the Enochic myth of the fallen angels as described in the *Book of the Watchers*.[108] Thus, Ryszard Rubinkiewicz has argued that

> the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* follows the tradition of *1 En.* 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel, who rules the stars and most men. It is not difficult to find here the tradition of Gen 6:1–4 developed according to the tradition of *1 Enoch*. Azazel is the head of the angels who plotted against the Lord and who impregnated the daughters of men. These angels are compared to the stars. Azazel revealed the secrets of heaven and is banished to the desert. Abraham, as Enoch, receives the power to drive away Satan. All these connections show that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* drew upon the tradition of *1 Enoch*.[109]

In the Slavonic apocalypse, as in the Enochic and Qumran materials, Azazel is clearly no longer a sacrificial animal, but an angelic being. Already in his first appearance at *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–4,[110] the text depicts Azazel as an unclean or impure bird (Slav. **птица нечистая**). In the pteromorphic angelological code of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which portrays Yahoel with the body of a griffin, Azazel's bird-like appearance signals his possession of an angelic form. This angelic shape appears to be compromised and "soiled," which renders it impure. It is not entirely clear, in this context, if the term "impure bird" signifies the antagonist's compromised angelic status absolutely, or rather the impropriety of his wearing the angelic garment in the current moment.

In this respect, the reference to the "impurity" of Azazel's angelic form recalls the aforementioned tradition in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, where the antagonist wears an angelic garment inappropriately. The situations in which the antagonists appear in questionable angelic attire are very similar; for in both cases they attempt to deceive the stories' protagonists. Like Satan, who attempts to deceive and corrupt the primordial couple, Azazel too attempts

to deceive the hero of the faith and persuade him not to enter heaven.

Conclusion

It is now time to return to the motif of the special celestial garment found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the significance of this theme for the sacerdotal framework of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon. It is no accident that the promise of a mysterious garment to Abraham occurs in the very chapters of the apocalypse that represent the text's sacerdotal nexus—the conceptual crux that intends to bring its readers into the heart of the apocalyptic Yom Kippur ritual. In *Apoc. Ab.* 13 and 14, Abraham's celestial guide, Yahoel, appears to perform one of the central ordinances of the atoning ceremony, by means of which impurity is transferred to Azazel and dispatched into the wilderness. Consider, for example, Yahoel's arcane address to Azazel at *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14:

> Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity. Therefore the Eternal Lord, the Mighty One, has made you a dweller on earth. And because of you [there is] the wholly-evil spirit of the lie, and because of you [there are] wrath and trials on the generations of impious men. Since the Eternal Mighty God did not *send* the righteous, in their bodies, to be in your hand, in order to affirm through them the righteous life and the destruction of impiety. . . . Hear, adviser! Be shamed by me, since you have been appointed to tempt not to all the righteous! Depart from this man! You cannot deceive him, because he is the enemy of you and of those who follow you and who love what you desire. For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you.[111]

This address—which the celestial cultic servant of the highest rank delivers to the demoted angel who bears the name of the scapegoat—is ritually significant, because it appears to reflect some of the actions of the high priest on Yom Kippur.[112] For this reason, the phrase "dwelling place of your impurity" is especially intriguing. It alludes to the purgative function of the scapegoat ceremony, which centered on the removal of the impurity bestowed on the sacrificial animal to the "dwelling" place of the demon in the desert. The corruption of Abraham, the forefather of the Israelite

nation, is now transferred to Azazel.[113] And Yahoel appears to perform the so-called "transference function" when the celebrant passes Israel's sins onto the scapegoat's head. This, it seems, may also explain why Yahoel's speech contains a command of departure (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:12: "Depart from this man!") rather like the dispatch-formula given to the scapegoat in *m. Yoma* 6:4: "Take our sins and go forth."[114]

In this climatic point of the apocalyptic Yom Kippur ceremony, Abraham's infamous opponent, stripped of his lofty celestial clothes, takes on a new, now sacrificial role in the principal purifying ordinance of the Jewish tradition by assuming the office of the cosmic scapegoat who is predestined to carry the celebrant's impurity into the netherworld. This mysterious burden of the ambiguous sacrificial agent, dispatching its ominous "gift" not to the divine but to the demonic realm has puzzled generations of interpreters who often wondered if this oblation was a sacrificial portion to the Other Side. Thus, in the *Book of Zohar* and some later Jewish mystical writings the scapegoat was often understood as "the principal offering that is destined in its entirety for 'the Other Side.'"[115] In light of these later traditions it is not entirely impossible that in the dualistic framework of the Slavonic apocalypse where the antagonist's abode imitates the realm of the deity one can have such peculiar understanding of the scapegoat's functions. But this is a subject of another lengthy investigation.

Part II

Satanael

The Watchers of Satanael

The Fallen Angels Traditions in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*

> [T]hey became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.
>
> —*1 En.* 54:6

> These are the Watchers (*Grigori*), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail.
>
> —*2 En.* 18:3

Introduction

The first part of *2 Enoch*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first century CE, deals with the heavenly ascent of the seventh antediluvian hero carried by his angelic psychopomps to the abode of the deity. Slowly progressing through the heavens while receiving detailed explanations of their content from his angelic interpreters, in one of them, the patriarch encounters the group of the fallen angels whom the authors of the apocalypse designate as the *Grigori* (Watchers).[1] The detailed report of the group's transgression given in chapter 18 of the text, which mentions the angelic descent on Mount Hermon, leading to subsequent corruption of humanity and procreation of the race of the Giants, invokes the memory of the peculiar features well known from the classic descriptions of the fall of the infamous celestial rebels given in the *Book of the Watchers*. This early Enochic booklet unveils the misdeeds of the two hundred Watchers led by their leaders Shemihazah and Asael. What is striking, however, in the description given in the Slavonic apocalypse is that in contrast to the classic Enochic account, the leadership over the fallen Watchers is ascribed not to Shemihazah or Asael, but instead to Satanael.[2]

This reference to the figure of the negative protagonist of the Adamic story appears to be not coincidental. The careful examination of other details of the fallen angels traditions found in the Slavonic apocalypse unveils that the transference of the leadership over the Watchers from Shemihazah and Asael to Satanael,[3] represents not a coincidental slip of pen, or a sign of a lack of knowledge of the authentic tradition, but an intentional attempt of introducing the Adamic development into the framework of the Enochic story, a move executed by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse with a certain theological purpose.

I previously explored the influence of the Adamic story on the Enochic account of the Slavonic apocalypse, especially in the materials of the longer recension, noticing an unusual readiness of its authors for the adoption of traditions and motifs from the Adamic trend, a tendency that appears to be quite surprising for a Second Temple Enochic text.[4]

Indeed, Adam's story occupies a strikingly prominent place in *2 Enoch*. The traditions pertaining to the first human can be found in all the sections of the book.[5] In these materials Adam is depicted as a glorious angelic being, predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth, but falling short of God's expectations. Although the bulk of Adamic materials belongs to the longer recension, which includes, for example, the lengthy Adamic narrative in chapters 30–32, the Adamic tradition is not confined solely to this recension. A number of important Adamic passages are also attested in the shorter recension. The extensive presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and their significance for the theology of the Slavonic apocalypse indicates that they are not later interpolations but are part of the original layer of the text.

It should be noted that such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in the intertestamental Enochic text is quite unusual. In the early Enochic circle reflected in *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*, Adam does not figure prominently. His presence in these materials is marginal and limited to a few insignificant remarks. Moreover, when the authors of the early Enochic booklets invoke the memory of Adam and Eve, they try either to ignore or to "soften" the story of their transgression and fall in the Garden. Scholars previously noticed this remarkable leniency of the Enochic writers toward the mishap of the protological couple in the texts "concerned with judgment and accountability."[6]

This either modest or unusually positive profile that the protoplasts enjoy in the early Enochic circle can be explained by several factors. Scholars previously observed that early Enochic and Adamic traditions appear to be operating with different mythologies of evil.[7] The early Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the Watchers' story in which the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to them various

celestial secrets.[8] In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's transgression and the fall of Adam and Eve in Eden—the trend that is hinted at in Genesis 3 and then fully reflected in the *Primary Adam Books*, which explain the reason for Satan's demotion by his refusal to obey God's command to venerate a newly created protoplast.[9]

While in the early Enochic circle the presence of the Adamic traditions appears to be either marginalized or silenced, it looms large in *2 Enoch*. In my previous research I suggested that the extensive presence of the Adamic motifs in the Slavonic apocalypse has a profound conceptual significance for the overall theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse.[10] It appears that the purpose of the extensive presence of Adamic themes in *2 Enoch* can be explained through the assessment in the text of the image of Enoch who is portrayed in the Slavonic apocalypse as the Second Adam—the one who is predestined to regain the original condition of the protoplast once lost by the first humans in Eden.[11] In this context many features of the exalted prelapsarian Adam are transferred to the seventh antediluvian hero in an attempt to hint at his status as the new protoplast, who restores humanity to its original state. This new protological profile of the elevated Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse thus can serve as an important clue for understanding the necessity of the extensive presence of the Adamic traditions in *2 Enoch*.

Moreover, it appears that the appropriation of the Adamic lore in *2 Enoch*. is not limited solely to the figure of the main positive protagonist—the seventh antediluvian patriarch, but also extended to the story of the negative angelic counterparts of the Enochic hero—the Watchers whose portrayals in the Slavonic apocalypse also become enhanced with novel features of the Adamic mythology of evil, and more specifically, with the peculiar traits of the account of its infamous heavenly rebel—Satan. Such interplay and osmosis of two early paradigmatic trends, which in John Reeves's terminology is designated as the mixed or transitional template, has long-lasting consequences for both "mythologies of evil" and their afterlife in rabbinic and patristic environments.[12] The purpose of this chapter is to explore the Adamic reworking of the Watchers traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse and its significance for subsequent Jewish mystical developments.

2 Enoch 7: The Watchers in the Second Heaven

There are two textual units pertaining to the Watchers traditions in *2 Enoch*. One of them is situated in chapter 7. The chapter describes the patriarch's arrival in the second heaven where he sees the group of the guarded angelic prisoners kept in darkness. Although chapter 7 does not identify this group directly as the Watchers, the description of their transgressions hints at this

fact. The second unit is situated in chapter 18, which describes Enoch's encounter with another angelic gathering in the fifth heaven, the group that this time is directly identified as the Watchers (*Grigori*). Although our study of the traditions of the fallen angels in the Slavonic apocalypse will deal mainly with these two passages found in chapters 7 and 18, some attention will be paid also to the Satanael traditions situated in chapters 29 and 31.

Traces of the Enochic Template

In chapter 7 of the longer recension of *2 Enoch*, the following description is found:

> And those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment. And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness. And unceasingly they made weeping, all the day long. And I said to the men who were with me, "Why are these ones being tormented unceasingly?" Those men answered me, "These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven." And I felt very sorry for them; and those angels bowed down to me and said to me, "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!" And I answered them and said, "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me? Or who indeed will pray for me?"[13]

Several scholars have previously recognized the connection of this passage about the incarcerated angels with the Watchers traditions.[14] One of these scholars, John Reeves, argues that

> this particular text obviously refers to the angelic insurrection that took place in the days of Jared, the father of Enoch. The prisoners in this "second heaven" are in fact those Watchers who violated the divinely decreed barriers separating heaven and earth by taking human wives and fathering bastard offspring, the infamous Giants.[15]

Another scholar, James VanderKam, expresses a similar conviction when he remarks that the angelic group depicted in chapter 7 "remind us

of the Watchers and their mutual oath to commit the deeds that led to their imprisonment in *1 En.* 6–11."[16]

VanderKam's suggestion that the theme of the angels "plotting together" found in *2 En.* 7 might allude to the Watchers' council on Mount Hermon and their mutual oath is important. The Watchers tradition reflected later in the text in chapter 18 further strengthens the possibility that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse were familiar with the early Enochic tradition of the binding oath taken by the Watchers on the infamous mountain.[17]

Another important detail that hints at the possibility of the presence of the Watchers tradition in the passage is that the angels choose to ask the patriarch about interceding with God. This request for intercession before God appears to allude to the unique role of the seventh antediluvian hero reflected already in the earliest Enochic booklets where he is depicted as the envoy bringing petitions of intercession to God on behalf of this rebellious angelic group. John Reeves suggests[18] that the petition pressed upon the exalted patriarch by the imprisoned angels in *2 En.* 7 is reminiscent of the language found in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 13:4)[19] where the Watchers ask the patriarch to write for them a prayer of intercession.[20] From *1 En.* 13:6–7 we learn that this prayer was prepared by the seventh antediluvian hero and later was delivered by him in a vision to the Creator.[21]

All these features demonstrate that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse appear to be well cognizant of some peculiar details of early versions of the Watchers story and were using these various characteristics of the early Enochic template in their depiction of the group of incarcerated angels in chapter 7, thus implicitly hinting to their audience at the angels' identity as the Watchers.

Finally, there is another piece of evidence that further confirms the identity of the mysterious imprisoned group as the Watchers. Although the angelic group kept under guard in the second heaven is not directly identified in chapter 7 as the Watchers, this chapter connects the unnamed angels with another celestial gathering that the patriarch will encounter later in the fifth heaven. *2 Enoch* 7 anticipates this encounter when it explains that the group in the second heaven "turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven." Later, upon his arrival to the fifth heaven, the patriarch sees there another angelic group that his celestial guides identify as *Grigori* (Slav. **Григори**)[22]—the Watchers. During that identification a reference is also made to the group in the second heaven which puts this group also in the category of the Watchers: "These are the Grigori (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness." Later, in *2 En.* 18:7, when Enoch himself addresses the Watchers he tells them that he saw "their brothers" and "prayed for them." These

details again appear to be alluding to the group in the second heaven who earlier asked the patriarch to pray for them.[23] As we can see, the two angelic groups in the second and fifth heavens are interconnected by the authors of the apocalypse through the set of cross-references situated in both chapters.

Traces of the Adamic Template

We began our study by mentioning that the Watchers account situated in chapter 18 exhibits the clear features of Adamic tradition when it names Satanael as the leader of the fallen Watchers. In the light of this later reaffirmation, it is also possible that the subtle traces of the Adamic template may already be present even in the description found in chapter 7.

A close look at chapter 7 demonstrates that along with implicit traces of the Enochic traditions of the fallen Watchers, the passage also exhibits some familiarities with the Adamic mythology of evil by recalling some features of the story of Satan's fall.

One of the pieces of evidence that catches the eye here is the peculiar title "prince" by which the passage describes the leader of the incarcerated angels. Already Robert Henry Charles noticed that although the passage found in chapter 7 does not directly name Satanael as the leader of the rebellious angels, the reference to the fact that they "turned away *with their prince*" (Slav. **с князом своим**)[24] invokes the similar terminology applied to Satanael later in chapter 18:3, which tells that the Watchers (*Grigori*) turned aside from the Lord together *with their prince* (Slav. **с князем своим**)[25] Satanael.[26] Charles's suggestion appears to be plausible, and in the light of the identical formulae attested in chapter 18 it is possible that the Satanael tradition is already present in *2 En.* 7. If it is so, here for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic lore becomes identified as the leader of the fallen Watchers.

Another possible piece of evidence that hints at the presence of the Adamic mythology of evil in *2 En.* 7 is connected with the motif of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch. Both recensions of *2 En.* 7:4 portray the incarcerated angels in the second heaven as bowing down before the translated patriarch, asking him to pray for them before the Lord.

I previously argued[27] that this tradition of angels bowing down before Enoch appears to stem from an Adamic mythology of evil[28] since it invokes the peculiar details of the Satan story attested in the *Primary Adam Books*[29] and some other Jewish, Christian, and Muslim materials.[30] In order to clarify the Adamic background of the Watchers tradition found in *2 En.* 7, one should take a short excursus in the later Enochic developments reflected in the Hekhalot materials.

In the later Enochic composition, known to us as the *Sefer Hekhalot* or *3 Enoch*, the Adamic motif of the angelic veneration similar to *2 Enoch* also

appears to be placed in the context of the Watchers tradition(s). Thus, *3 En.* 4 depicts the angelic leaders Uzza, Azza, and Azael, the characters whose names are reminiscent of the names of the leaders of the fallen Watchers,[31] as bowing down before Enoch-Metatron.

There are scholars who view this motif of angels bowing down before Enoch found in *Sefer Hekhalot* as a relatively late development which originated under the influence of the rabbinic accounts of the veneration of humanity.[32] Yet, there are other researchers who argue for early "pseudepigraphical" roots of this Hekhalot tradition of the angelic veneration of Enoch. One of these scholars, Gary Anderson, previously noticed the early pseudepigraphical matrix of this peculiar development present in *Sefer Hekhalot* and its connections with the primordial veneration of the protoplast in the paradigmatic Adamic story where Satan and his angels refuse to bow down before the first human.[33] Moreover, some conceptual developments detected in *2 Enoch* also point to early pseudepigraphical roots of the tradition of veneration of Enoch by angels. Scholars previously suggested that the Adamic motif of angelic veneration was transferred in the Enochic context not in the later Hekhalot or rabbinic materials but already in *2 Enoch* where the angels are depicted as bowing down several times before the seventh antediluvian hero. Besides the previously mentioned tradition of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch found in chapter 7 there is another, even more explicit appropriation of the motif of angelic veneration, found in *2 En.* 21–22 where God tests angels by asking them to venerate Enoch. These chapters depict Enoch's arrival at the edge of the seventh heaven. There, God invites Enoch to stand before him forever. The deity then tells his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to this address, the angels do obeisance to Enoch saying, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"[34] Michael Stone previously noticed that the story found in *2 En.* 21–22 is reminiscent of the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.[35] Stone notes that, along with the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of *2 Enoch* appears also to be aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in *2 En.* 22:6, which another translation of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."[36] Stone notes that the expression "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" implies here that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested. Further comparing the similarities between Adamic and Enochic accounts, Stone observes that the order of events in *2 Enoch* exactly duplicates the order found in the *Primary Adam Books*. Stone concludes that the author of *2 En.* 21–22 was cognizant of the traditions resembling those found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. He also emphasizes that

these traditions did not enter *2 Enoch* from the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*, because this form of the tradition does not occur in the Slavonic *Vita*.[37]

Keeping in mind these remarkable parallels, it is now time to return to the tradition of Enoch's veneration by the incarcerated angels found in chapter 7 of *2 Enoch* in order to further explore its connection with the Adamic story of angelic veneration.

Several details of the story from *2 En.* 7 seem also to be alluding to the Adamic template:

1. In *2 En.* 7, similar to the Adamic accounts, the sin of the imprisoned angels is disobedience to the Lord's commandments.
2. The agents of the rebellion are a group of angels with "their prince." This recalls the information found in the Adamic accounts where not only Satan, but also other angels under him, refuse to venerate Adam. As we remember, the longer recension of *2 En.* 18:3 directly identifies the prisoners of the second heaven as the angels of Satanael.
3. Finally, in the text the imprisoned angels bow down before a human being (Enoch). An additional important detail here is that the patriarch is addressed by the fallen angels as a "man"—"a man of God." The combination of the motif of angelic bowing with a reference to the human nature of the object of veneration is intriguing and again might point to the protological Adamic account where some angels bow down before the human and others refuse to do so.

2 Enoch 18: The Watchers in the Fifth Heaven

Traces of the Enochic Template

It is time now to proceed to the second textual unit dealing with the Watchers traditions situated in chapter 18 of the Slavonic apocalypse. In the longer recension of *2 En.* 18 the following description can be found:

> And those men took me up on their wings and placed me on the fifth heaven. And I saw there many innumerable armies called Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large

giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, "What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?" And those men answered me, "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended (**соидошася три**) to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds. Who . . . in the entire time of this age acted lawlessly and practiced miscegenation and gave birth to giants and great monsters and great enmity. And that is why God has judged them with a great judgment; and they mourn their brothers, and they will be outrages on the great day of the Lord." And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended forever." And I said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy, and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord God to the limit." And they responded to my recommendations, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Grigori burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[38]

Already in the very beginning of this passage the angelic hosts situated in the fifth heaven are designated as *Grigori* (Slav. **Григори**),[39] the term that represents "a transcription of the Greek word for the Watchers."[40] Unlike in chapter 7, where the identity of the celestial gathering remains rather uncertain, here the authors of the text explicitly choose to name the angelic group. The text then provides some details of the angels' appearance. When the Slavonic apocalypse describes them, an intriguing comparison is made about the size of these angelic hosts, who are depicted as beings "larger than

the large giants"—a reference that might also invoke the Giants traditions—a conceptual trend which in early Enochic booklets is often intertwined with the Watchers story.

The text then describes the Watchers' faces as being dejected, emphasizing also their perpetual silence. Enoch, who appears to be puzzled by the view of this silent and depressive angelic company, then asks his angelic guides about their strange dejected looks and their nonparticipation in the angelic liturgy. In response he hears the story that further provides the array of crucial motifs that invoke the memory of the account of the Watchers' descent as it is described in the early Enochic circle. Two significant details here are the references to the number of the descended Watchers as two hundred (myriads)[41] and the designation of the place of their descent on earth as Mount Hermon (Slav. **Ермон/гора Ермонская**). It is well known that the numeral two hundred in relation to the descended Watchers is attested already in the *Book of the Watchers*—one of the earliest Enochic booklets, whose text also locates the place of the Watchers' descent at Mount Hermon.[42]

2 En. 18:4 then supplies another crucial detail by describing how the Watchers *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Hermon. The reference to the "promise" (Slav. **обещание**)[43] that the Watchers "broke" on the shoulder of the infamous mountain is intriguing and appears to hint to the early Enochic tradition of the binding oath taken by the Watchers. The passage found in chapter 6 of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 6:3–6) unveils the motifs of mysterious promises and curses with which the rebellious angels decided to bind themselves, thus securing their ominous mission and fellowship.[44]

The descriptions of the Watchers' transgressions provided in *2 En.* 18 are also noteworthy. The references to the Watchers' marriage to the human women, the procreation of the race of monstrous Giants, the enmity and evil that this infamous bastard offspring created on earth—all these features again betray the authors' familiarity with early Watchers and Giants traditions attested already in *1 En.* 7.[45] It is also curious that *2 Enoch* specifically emphasizes the sin of interbreeding (miscegenation) (Slav. **смешение**),[46] an important sacerdotal concern of intermarriage that looms large in the early Enochic circle.

Another typical "Enochic" detail of chapter 18 is the reference to God's sentencing the Watchers under the earth "until heaven and earth are ended forever." This motif also appears to stem from the early Enochic lore where the fallen Watchers are depicted as imprisoned under the earth until the day of the final judgment.

All aforementioned details point to familiarity of the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse with the features of the original Enochic template. Yet,

despite the efforts of the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse to harmonize the plethora of early Enochic motifs into a coherent symbolic universe, the Watchers' account reflected in chapter 18 appears to be not entirely without contradictions. One of the puzzles here is a discrepancy about the location of the angelic group encountered by the patriarch earlier—the incarcerated rebels, whose memory is invoked again and again in chapter 18.

Thus, in 18:3 Enoch's angelic guides connect the Watchers in the fifth heaven with the angelic group in the second heaven depicted earlier in chapter 7:

> And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are *in the second heaven*, imprisoned in great darkness. (*2 En.* 18:3)

Later, in verse seven, Enoch himself reaffirms this connection between the two angelic groups when he unveils to the Watchers in the fifth heaven the sad destiny of their rebellious brothers in the lower realm:

> And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them *under the earth* until heaven and earth are ended forever." (*2 En.* 18:7)

It is apparent that both passages about angelic rebellious groups in chapters 7 and 18 are interconnected by a series of allusions and familiar motifs intended to persuade the reader that both groups are interrelated and now are separated because of their previous deeds. Yet *2 En.* 18:7 exhibits a clear contradiction when Enoch reports to the Watchers in the fifth heaven that God has sentenced their brothers "*under the earth.*"[47] Several scholars previously noticed this topological discrepancy about the exact location of the second group of Watchers.[48] Reflecting on the textual contradictions about the location of the imprisoned Watchers, one of these scholars, John Reeves, observes that

> *2 Enoch* is peculiar in that it places the prison for the incarcerated Watchers in heaven itself. This transcendent location contradicts the explicit testimonies of other works where these rebellious Watchers are held; viz. beneath the earth (*1 En.* 10:4–7; 12–14; 88:3; *Jub.* 5:6, 10; 2 Pet 2:4). Moreover, a later passage in *2 Enoch* is simultaneously cognizant of this latter tradition: "And I said to the Watchers, I have seen your brothers, and I have heard what they did . . . and I prayed for them. And behold, the Lord

> has condemned them below the earth until the heavens and the earth pass away . . ." The reference in this text is surely to the imprisoned Watchers that Enoch had previously encountered in the second heaven. But here, while touring the "fifth heaven," the imprisoned Watchers are spoken as being "beneath the earth"![49]

It is possible that the discrepancy pertaining to the location of the imprisoned angels can be explained by the topological peculiarities of the Slavonic apocalypse whose main theological emphasis is centered on the ascension of the translated hero into the heavenly realm. Yet, possibly cognizant of the various early traditions of the patriarch's tours into other (subterranean) realms, where Enoch observes the places of the punishment of the rebellious Watchers, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse try to reconcile (not always seamlessly) these earlier traditions with their ouranological scheme.[50] In this respect the phrase "I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness"[51] used in the description of the incarcerated angels in the longer recension of *2 En.* 7:1, deserves some additional attention. It appears that this phrase strives to underline the otherworldly, possibly even subterranean, nature of the darkness encountered by the patriarch in the second heaven. Clearly, the text wants to emphasize that it is a darkness of another realm by comparing it with "earthly darkness." Later, in verse 2 this comparison with the earthly darkness is repeated again, this time in the portrayal of the angels' appearance: "And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness."[52]

Traces of the Adamic Template

Besides the references to the Enochic template, the passage from chapter 18 also reveals also the authors' familiarity with the Adamic mythology of evil and the peculiar details of its demonological settings. Moreover, it appears that the interaction between the two paradigmatic templates in *2 Enoch* can be seen not merely as an attempt at mechanical mixture of the elements of both trends but rather the progressive movement toward their organic union when the mutual interaction is able to generate a qualitatively different tradition which is no longer equal to their initial parts. Thus, one can see here the consistent effort to "fuse" two mythological streams into a new coherent ideology—an enormously difficult creative task carried out masterfully by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse. One of the crucial signs of such qualitative transition can be seen in the literary destiny of the main protological and eschatological opponent of the Adamic tradition—Satanael,[53] who is now invited into the new unfamiliar entourage of the rival mythological trend, where he is being fashioned as the leader of the rebellious Watchers.

> "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together *with their prince* (**с князом своим**) Satanail. . . ." (*2 En.* 18)

The fact that this identification represents not just an accidental slip of the pen or an interpolation, but rather a sign of the consistent and well-designed theological strategy of the text becomes evident if we compare the description found in chapter 18 with the Watchers tradition found in chapter 7. There again the group of the incarcerated Watchers is described by the authors as the rebellious group who turn away *with their prince*:

> These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away *with their prince* (**с князем своим**). (*2 En.* 7)

Both passages are interconnected through identical Slavonic terminology since the leader of the rebellious angels in both cases is designated as *a prince* (Slav. **князь**).[54] It appears that in the theological tapestry of the Slavonic apocalypse, chapter 7 plays an important role by serving for its readers as a sort of a preliminary initiation into a new mythology of evil—the demonological setting where both the identities of the Watchers and their new leader Satanael are still concealed, thus anticipating their full conceptual disclosure in the later chapters.

But how really novel and original was this conceptual move for the Enochic trend? It should be noted that the leadership of Satan over the fallen Watchers is unknown in the earliest Enochic booklets. Yet, in the late Second Temple Enochic text, the *Book of the Similitudes*, one can see the extensive appropriation of the Satan terminology, both in the generic and in the titular sense.[55] One of the instances of the "generic" use of such terminology can be found in *1 En.* 40:7, where the term *satans* appears to designate one of the classes of angelic beings[56] whose function is to punish[57] or to put forward accusations against those who dwell on earth: "And the fourth voice I heard driving away the satans, and not allowing them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell on the dry ground."[58]

The first possible steps towards the transitional template in which Satan becomes the leader of the fallen Watchers might be discernable in the *Similitudes* 54:4–6 where the "hosts of Azazel" are named as the "servants of Satan":[59]

> And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "These chain-instruments—for whom are they being prepared?" And he said to me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel,

> that they may take them and throw them into the lowest part of Hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough stones, as the Lord of Spirits commanded. And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel—these will take hold of them on that great day, and throw them on that day into the furnace of burning fire, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground."[60]

Scholars argued that the term *Satan* was used here not in the generic but in the "titular" sense.[61] If this is so, this portentous conceptual development is relevant for our study of the Satanael tradition found in the Slavonic apocalypse, since it might provide additional proof that the extensive adoption of Adamic mythology of evil in *2 Enoch* was not a later Christian interpolation, but a genuine Enochic development possibly stemming from other late Second Temple Enochic booklets.

Yet, despite its promising nature, the origin of the Satan tradition found in the *Parables* remains shrouded in mystery. It is really difficult to discern from this terse and enigmatic passage found in the *Similitudes* 54 if the authors of the book really did have the knowledge of the full-blown Adamic template, including the story of the angelic veneration, or if they were merely borrowing the titular usage of Satan from the biblical materials. Scholars previously noticed this peculiar tendency of the *Similitudes* for the extensive and open adaptations of some biblical titles in relation to Enoch—a novel development in comparison with the earliest Enochic booklets whose authors deliberately tried to maintain distance from the "biblical" books.[62] In the light of these developments, it is possible that the titular usage of the name "Satan," similar to many of Enoch's titles found in the *Similitudes*, might here have biblical roots. Nevertheless, it remains intriguing that the extensive appropriation of Satan terminology is found in such a transitional Enochic booklet as the *Parables*, a text which, similar to the Slavonic apocalypse, tries to dramatically enhance the exalted profile of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, leading this character into the entirely new, one might even say "divine," stage of his remarkable theological career by identifying him with the preexistent son of man.

Now it is time to return to the Slavonic apocalypse, where the mutual interaction between two mythologies of evil appears to be exercising a lasting influence not only on the story of the Watchers but also on the account of the negative protagonist of the Adamic stream—Satan(ael), who is now acquiring some novel features from the Enochic tradition.

The longer recension of *2 En.* 29 elaborates upon the story of Satanael's fall by enhancing it with some new intriguing details. It states that after his

transgression, described as the violation of the ranks of the angelic hierarchy in an attempt of self-exaltation, Satanael was cast out from heaven with his angels.[63] The text further unveils that after his demotion "he [Satanael] was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless (Slav. бездна)."[64] This reference to the Slavonic word бездна, (which more precisely can be translated as "pit" or "abyss") as the place of punishment of the fallen angel, invokes the memory of the Asael/Azazel story from *1 En.* 10 where the leader of the fallen angels is thrown by the angel Raphael into the subterranean pit.[65]

Here again one can see the profound dialogue between two formative traditions of the fallen angels that alters or enhances the features of the original templates, reshaping the stories of their infamous heroes.

The Transitional Template and Its Afterlife in the Shiʿur Qomah and Hekhalot Accounts

Our investigation of the mixed demonological template found in *2 Enoch* is important not only because it witnesses to the prominant dialogue between Enochic and Adamic mythologies of evil but also because it helps to illuminate another important theological transition taking place for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse—that is, the paradigm shift from the Jewish apocalypticism to early Jewish mysticism, thus in many ways anticipating future developments within the Enochic lore and serving as a blueprint for the later Watchers traditions reflected in the *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.[66]

In this respect it is therefore useful to discuss some early signs and facets of this ideological transition that was taking place at the end of the Second Temple period through the exploration of several pioneering aspects of the Watchers traditions found in *2 Enoch* and the afterlife of these novel developments in later Jewish mysticism.

I have previously demonstrated the formative value of the Enochic traditions reflected in the Slavonic apocalypse for late Jewish mysticism and particularly for the Enochic developments attested in *Sefer Hekhalot*.[67] My previous research was mainly concentrated on the figure of Enoch. Yet, in light of the current investigation, it becomes clear that the lessons that *2 Enoch* provides for later Hekhalot developments appear not to be limited solely to the transformation of the narrative involving the chief positive protagonist of the Enochic tradition—the seventh antediluvian hero—but also involve the peculiar reworking of the story of its antiheroes—the fallen Watchers. In next section of my study I will concentrate on two motifs found in *2 Enoch* that appear to anticipate future Jewish mystical developments:

the motif of the three Watchers and the theme of the liturgical duties of Enoch-Metatron.

Three Watchers

This study has already drawn attention to the intriguing fact that the Slavonic apocalypse operates with the tradition of the descent of the three Watchers. Several manuscripts of *2 En.* 18 tell that "three of them [the Watchers] descended to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon." This passage invokes the memory of a peculiar tradition, found in the later Enochic lore reflected in *Sefer Hekhalot*, that mentions three ministering angels—Uzza, Azza, and Azael, enigmatic characters whose names are reminiscent of the infamous leaders of the Watchers—Shemihazah and Asael.[68] *Sefer Hekhalot* contains two textual units that deal with Uzza, Azza, and Azael. One of them is situated in chapter 4 and another in chapter 5. *3 En.* 4:1-10 reads:

> R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: ". . . why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared . . . the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me (Enoch) in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!' . . . once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying 'Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you.' Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years—therefore they call me 'Youth.'"[69]

As has already been noted in this study, this specimen of the late "Enochic" lore found in *Sefer Hekhalot* is significant for our investigation because it attests to the conceptual matrix of the mythology of evil very similar to the one found in the Slavonic apocalypse, where the Enochic trend attempts to emulate the paradigmatic features of the Adamic story. It is possible that the influence of the Adamic template on the Hekhalot passage is even more decisive than it might appear at first glance, since besides the theme of the angelic veneration of the seer it also invokes the motifs of the protological situation of the creation of humanity and the angelic opposition to this act of the deity. Although the tradition of the

veneration of Adam is not mentioned directly in this unit, it is indirectly (similarly to the Slavonic apocalypse) reaffirmed by the veneration that angels offer to Enoch. As has been mentioned above in this study, previous scholars have noticed the presence of the pseudepigraphical matrix of the Adamic tradition in this passage.[70]

In *Sefer Hekhalot* 5 the tradition about three "Watchers" takes another, this time clearly "Enochic," turn, by connecting Uzza, Azza, and Azael with the familiar theme of the corruption of humankind through a reference to the angels' illicit pedagogy, a motif known already in the earliest Enochic mythology of evil:

> What did the men of Enosh's generation do? They roamed the world from end to end. . . . They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations. . . . How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because Uzza, Azza, and Azael taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.[71]

It is noteworthy that both passages about three fallen angels from *Sefer Hekhalot* have distinctive features of the mixed template, very similar to the one found in the Slavonic apocalypse. Both texts are trying to bring the whole array of the Adamic motifs, including the account of the angelic veneration, into the framework of the Watchers story. Although the transmission history of the post–Second Temple Enochic traditions is shrouded in mystery, it is possible that the developments detected in the Slavonic apocalypse exercised a formative influence on the later Enochic lore, including *Sefer Hekhalot*. In this respect it is noteworthy that despite the tradition of the fallen angels' opposition to God's creation of humans found in several places in rabbinic literature,[72] the motif of the *three Watchers* appears in Jewish milieus only in *Sefer Hekhalot*.[73]

Enoch as the Celestial Choirmaster of the Watchers

Another prominent aspect of the Watchers traditions found in *2 Enoch* that appears to exercise a long-lasting influence on later Jewish mystical developments is its liturgical dimension. The repeated and persuasive invocation of the idea of angelic veneration in many ways hints (directly and indirectly) at this peculiar sacerdotal aspect, since this motif is often placed in the Second Temple and rabbinic materials in the context of celestial worship. In this respect one should not ignore the persistent liturgical concern that permeates the Watchers story in the Slavonic apocalypse.

Indeed, the authors of the Watchers narratives of *2 Enoch* do not shy away from expressing their interest in the theme of the heavenly liturgy. Thus, when Enoch sees the "dejected" Watchers in the fifth heaven, the passage immediately invokes the tradition of angelic worship by pointing to the Watchers' nonparticipation in the celestial liturgical praxis:

> And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. "What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?"

The liturgical dimension of the Watchers tradition in *2 Enoch* is intriguing and merits further investigation. Yet, in order to apprehend the full meaning of this tradition for the later Enochic developments, a short excursus in the Hekhalot and *Shiʿur Qomah* materials is necessary.

The later Merkabah materials emphasize the crucial role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in celestial worship by serving as the leader of the angelic hosts.

3 En. 15B provides the following description of his spectacular liturgical office:

> Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the throne of glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty.[74]

A similar description in another Hekhalot text (*Synopse* §390)[75] further elaborates Metatron's unique liturgical role:

> One *hayyah* rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth whose name is Metatron, and says in a great voice, a voice of sheer silence: "The Throne of Glory is shining." Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and the holy ones become quiet. They are silent, and are pushed into the river of fire. The *hayyot* put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is

> Metatron then invokes, in seven voices, his living, pure, honored, awesome, holy, noble, strong, beloved, mighty, powerful name.[76]

These enigmatic passages reveal that one of Metatron's duties in the heavenly realm involves his leadership over the angelic hosts delivering heavenly praise to the deity. The testimonies that unfold Metatron's liturgical role are not confined solely to the Hekhalot corpus, but can also be detected in another prominent literary expression of early Jewish mysticism represented by the *Shi*ᶜ*ur Qomah* materials. The passages found in the *Shi*ᶜ*ur Qomah* texts attest to a similar tradition in which Metatron is portrayed as a liturgical leader. Thus, *Sefer Haqqomah* 155–164 reads:

> And (the) angels who are with him come and encircle the Throne of Glory. They are on one side and the (celestial) creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is on the Throne of Glory in the center. And one creature goes up over the seraphim and descends on the tabernacle of the lad whose name is Metatron and says in a great voice, a thin voice of silence, "The Throne of Glory is glistening!" Immediately, the angels fall silent and the ᶜ*irin* and the *qadushin* are still. They hurry and hasten into the river of fire. And the celestial creatures turn their faces towards the earth, and this lad whose name is Metatron, brings the fire of deafness and puts (it) in the ears of the celestial creatures so that they do not hear the sound of the speech of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit name that the lad, whose name is Metatron, utters at that time in seven voices, in seventy voices, in living, pure, honored, holy, awesome, worthy, brave, strong, and holy name.[77]

In reference to these traditions, Martin Cohen notes that in the *Shi*ᶜ*ur Qomah* tradition Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle appears to be "entirely liturgical" and "is more the heavenly choirmaster and beadle than the celestial high priest."[78]

It is evident that the tradition preserved in *Sefer Haqqomah* cannot be separated from the microforms found in *Synopse* §390 and *3 En.* 15B, since all these narratives are unified by a similar structure and terminology. All of them also emphasize Metatron's leading role in the course of the celestial service.

It is possible that this tradition of Enoch-Metatron as the one who encourages and prepares angels for their liturgical praxis in heaven might have its early roots already in *2 Enoch*.

As we recall, in the beginning of chapter 18 the patriarch is depicted as the one who laments about the absence of angelic liturgy in the fifth heaven and the silence of the Watchers. In light of the Hekhalot and *Shiʿur Qomah* materials, his concern about the pause in the angelic liturgical routine appears to be not just a matter of curiosity. Further in the same unit Enoch encourages the celestial Watchers to start their liturgy before the face of God. The longer recension of *2 En.* 18:8–9 relates:

> And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you *perform the liturgy*[79] before the face of the Lord? Start up *your liturgy*,[80] and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit." And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Watchers burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[81]

One notices that the imagery of this account represents a rather vague sketch that only distantly alludes to the future prominent liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron. Yet here, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the seventh antediluvian patriarch dares to assemble and direct the angelic creatures for their routine job of delivering praise to the deity.

It is also significant that, despite the fact that in *2 En.* 18 the patriarch gives his advice to the angels situated in the fifth heaven, he repeatedly advises them to start the liturgy "before the Face of the Lord," that is, in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where Youth-Metatron will later conduct the heavenly worship of the angelic hosts in the *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts.

These later specimens of Jewish mystical lore provide an important interpretive framework that allows us to discern the traces of these later fully developed liturgical traditions already in *2 Enoch*. In this respect the Slavonic apocalypse can be seen as the crucial conceptual nexus loaded with several portentous transitions that become instrumental in shaping the angelological template prominent in the later *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.

In light of the developments discernable in *2 Enoch*, it is possible that the unique liturgical role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in the Merkabah tradition in relation to the celestial creatures is linked to the tradition of his veneration by the angels. Already in the Slavonic apocalypse the celestial citizens recognize the authority and the leadership of the seventh antediluvian hero by bowing down before him. This peculiar ritual of recognition of the celestial leader appears not to be forgotten in the later mystical lore. In this

respect it is striking that in the aforementioned liturgical passages from the *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts various classes of angels, including the class named עירין (the Watchers), are depicted with "their faces towards the earth" while Enoch-Metatron puts fire in their ears. It cannot be ruled out that one has here the liturgical afterlife of the familiar motif of angelic bowing before the translated hero. It is noteworthy that already in the early Adamic lore that constitutes the background of the developments found in *2 Enoch*, the theme of the angelic veneration of Adam is placed in the larger framework of divine worship, where the protoplast appears to be understood not as the ultimate object of veneration but rather as a representation or an icon of the deity through whom angels are able to worship God.[82]

Conclusion

In concluding our study of the intriguing relationships between the Enochic and Adamic templates of the fallen angels in the Slavonic apocalypse, we should again draw attention to the broader theological concerns and circumstances for such striking metamorphoses of two previously relatively independent trends. As has been already pointed out in this study, one possible reason why many Adamic themes, including the motif of the angelic veneration, were brought for the first time in *2 Enoch* into the framework of the Enochic developments, was the changing status of the main hero of the Enochic tradition. It appears that in the Slavonic apocalypse the story of the exalted protagonist of the Enochic lore seems to be stepping into the new era of its theological and anthropological development in which the patriarch undergoes a remarkable transition from an exemplar of the transformed angelomorphic humanity, as he appears in the early Enochic literature, to the new conceptual stage in which he is envisioned now as a specimen of the theomorphic humanity.

Scholars previously noted that many future roles of Enoch-Metatron as the lesser representation of the divine Name and the replica of the divine Body—the offices that clearly intend to exalt the translated hero above the angelic world—are already hinted at in the Slavonic apocalypse. In this respect it appears to be not coincidental that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse are repeatedly trying to emphasize the supra-angelic status of the translated patriarch and his unique position in relation to the deity.[83] The motif of the angelic veneration, a development borrowed by the Enochic authors from the rival Adamic trend, seems to further affirm this new status of the elevated patriarch, securing his unique place above the angels.

In light of these significant anthropological transitions, which led Jewish mediatorial lore into the new era of its evolution, a brief look at another crucial theological account of the divine humanity, also written in the first

century CE, might provide additional illuminating insights. Narrating Jesus' temptation in the wilderness, the Gospel of Matthew unveils the following tradition:

> Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said to him, "All these I will give you, if you will fall down (πεσὼν) and worship me." Then Jesus said to him, "Begone, Satan! for it is written, 'You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve.'" Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered (διηκόνουν) to him. (Matt 4:8–11)

It has been previously noticed that this passage, in which the Devil tempts Jesus by asking him to fall down (πεσὼν) and worship the demon appears to be alluding also to the Adamic account of the fall of Satan who once refused to venerate the protoplast.[84] The ancient enemy of humankind appears to be trying to take revenge for his protological mishap involving the First Adam by asking now for the veneration and worship from the Last Adam—Christ. But Jesus refuses to follow this demonic trap, and after he rejects Satan's proposal, the motif of angelic worship is then invoked again, this time directly and unambiguously in the text. Matt 4:11 tells its readers that after the temptation was over, angels came to worship Jesus.

Here, similar to the possibly contemporaneous tradition found in the Slavonic apocalypse, the motif of angelic worship hints at the new divine status of a human character and helps to understand the anthropological paradigm shift that is leading the restored humankind back into the new, but once before lost, abode of its divine existence[85]—the dimension in which a long time ago humanity was exalted above the angels humbly venerated by them.

Satan and the Visionary

Apocalyptic Roles of the Adversary in the Temptation Narrative of the Gospel of Matthew

> The first prince and accuser, the commander of jealousy, is evil Samael, accompanied by his retinue. He is called "evil" not because of his nature but because he desires to unite and intimately mingle with an emanation not of his nature.
>
> —R. Isaac ben Jacob Ha-Kohen,
> "Treatise on the Left Emanation"

The Temptation Story

Scholars believe that the stories of Jesus' temptation by Satan found in Matthew and Luke emanated from Q.[1] Both of them are also informed by the temptation narrative found in the Gospel of Mark.[2] The accounts found in Matthew and Luke are different in several aspects. One of the differences is that the Gospel of Luke, similar to the Gospel of Mark, states that Satan's temptation of Jesus in the wilderness lasted the forty-day period. In contrast to this, Matthew's account seems to put emphasis on the length of Jesus' fast by claiming that he *fasted* forty days and forty nights. The two accounts then also exhibit some differences in the order of the temptations. Scholars believe that the Gospel of Matthew attests the original order of the temptation narrative, while the Gospel of Luke represents the inversion of this original order.[3] Although Satan's request to turn stone(s) into a loaf of bread is situated in the beginning of both accounts, the order of the other two temptations is different. Scholars believe that the fact that the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke both start with the temptation in the wilderness might suggest that both of them were influenced by Mark's

account.[4] The Gospel of Matthew then follows this first temptation with the second one in the Temple, and the third on the mountain. In contrast to the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of Luke, while placing in the middle a temptation from a high place, then concludes with the temptation in the Temple.

Several features of Matthew's account might suggest that it contains more explicit references to apocalyptic traditions than Mark and Luke. As I already mentioned, Mark and Luke, who take the forty-day period as encompassing the whole process of temptation, seem to reemploy here the traditional allusion to the forty years of testing the Israelites in the wilderness. Yet Matthew's emphasis on an initiatory forty-day fasting which follows the appearance of Satan might suggest that the fast serves here as a tool for inducing of visionary experience. It is noteworthy that the canonical stories of the two most famous visionaries of the Hebrew Bible, Moses and Elijah, contain passages referring specifically to periods of forty days. Exod 24:18 tells of Moses's abiding forty days and forty nights at the top of Mount Sinai.[5] 1 Kings 19:8 refers to the story of Elijah sustained by angels for forty days[6] during his journey to Mount Horeb.[7] It is noteworthy that in both accounts, as in Matthew, the motif of the forty-day fast coincides with the theme of an encounter on a mountain, signifying a visionary experience on high.

If we are correct about the transformational value of fasting in Matthew's account, it should be noted that the fast serves there as the tool for inducing the vision of Satan, but not of God. It is possible that this depiction has a polemical flavor as the author of the temptation narrative attempts to deconstruct the traditional apocalyptic settings.

Enigmatic Psychopomp

What is even more striking is that in the temptation narrative, Satan serves as a psychopomp of Jesus, depicted as transporting a protagonist of the story to high, possibly even highest, places. In apocalyptic literature angels or archangels often serve as the psychopomps of visionaries. Thus, for example, in *2 Enoch* the seventh antediluvian patriarch is taken to heaven by two angels. In the same apocalyptic account Melchizedek is transported on the wings of Gabriel to the Paradise of Eden. In the temptation narrative Satan seems to be fulfilling these familiar functions of a transporting angel. It is important that in both cases Satan is transporting Jesus not to hell, but to the "high places"—the first time to the top of the Temple in the Holy City and the second time to the very high mountain. Some scholars believe that the mountain here represents the place of the divine abode as in some other apocalyptic texts. Satan's apocalyptic roles are puzzling. Does the unusual

duty of Satan as the transporter to the upper places represent a polemical twist? Does the author here attempt to deconstruct the familiar apocalyptic motifs by depicting Satan as Jesus' angelic transporter?

It is also important that in both Matthew and Luke, Satan serves not merely as a psychopomp but also as an *angelus interpres* who literally "leads up" (ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν) the visionary and "shows him" (δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ / ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ) the visionary reality, fulfilling thus the traditional functions of the interpreting angels in Jewish apocalyptic and mystical accounts. Scholars previously noted the terminological similarities between the temptation narrative and Deuteronomy 34:1–4,[8] where God serves as an *angelus interpres* during Moses's vision on Mount Nebo showing (ἔδειξεν) the prophet the promised land and giving him an explanation of it.[9]

Enochic Descent Traditions

It is also interesting that in one of the temptations Satan makes Jesus "stand up" on the pinnacle of the Temple. According to the *Pesiqta Rabbati*, when the Messiah reveals himself he will come and stand on the roof of the Temple.[10]

The installation of Jesus by Satan on the highest point of the Sanctuary is intriguing and appears to be reminiscent of the installations of some visionaries in Jewish apocalyptic accounts. In these accounts the angelic guides often help seers get installed in the ranks of the *sar happanim*, the celestial office that is characterized by the function of standing before the heavenly Temple represented by the divine *Panim*. One such peculiar installation is described in *2 Enoch* where Uriel (Vrevoil) makes the seventh antediluvian patriarch stand in the celestial Temple represented by the liturgical settings of the Divine Face. I previously explored this apocalyptic idiom of standing tracing its roots to the Mosaic biblical accounts where God makes Moses stand up on the mountain before his Face.[11]

It has already been mentioned that the authors of the temptation account seem to exhibit familiarity with the ascent traditions. It is not completely impossible that in Satan's suggestion to Jesus throw himself down we might have a sort of allusion also to the descent traditions similar to the ones reflected in the Enochic writings, where the ministering angels, called the Watchers, decided to abandon their ministerial duties in the heavenly Temple and descend to earth. In the biblical version of this story reflected in Genesis 6, this protological myth of the angelic descent is conveyed through the imagery of the sons of God.[12] Can Satan's address to Jesus as the Son of God be a reflection of some terminological affinities with the Septuagint rendering of Genesis 6? Another terminological parallel that can be considered is the connection between the Watchers' status as the

standing angels in the Heavenly Temple and Jesus' standing on the summit of the Temple.

The Veneration Motif

The third part of the temptation story in Matthew takes place on the mountain. Several scholars previously noted that the mountain here might be an allusion to the place of the divine presence and dominion. Here, however, strangely enough, it becomes the exalted place from which Satan asks Jesus to venerate him.

In the Enochic and Mosaic traditions the high mountain often serves as one of the technical designations of the *Kavod*. Thus, for example, *1 Enoch* 25:3 identifies the high mountain as a location of the Throne of God.[13] In the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Moses is identified with the *Kavod* on the mountain.[14]

If Matthew indeed has in mind the mountain of the *Kavod*, in Satan's ability to show Jesus all the kingdoms of the world and their splendor we might have a possible reference to the celestial curtain *Pargod* (פרגוד), the sacred veil of the divine Face, which in *3 Enoch* 45 is described as an entity that literally "shows" all generations and all kingdoms simultaneously in the same time.[15] In *3 Enoch* 45:1–4 one can find the following tradition about the *Pargod*:

> R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you the curtain of the Omnipresent One which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be he, and on which are printed all the generations of the world and their deeds, whether done or to be done, till the last generation . . . the kings of Judah and their generations, their deeds and their acts; the kings of Israel and their generations, their deeds and their acts; the kings of the gentiles and their generations, their deeds and their acts.[16]

Satan's suggestion to Jesus that he prostrate himself before his tempter seems also connected with some apocalyptic and mystical traditions. Scholars previously noted that the details of the depiction of the last temptation of Jesus seem to allude to some details found in the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in various versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. The *Primary Adam Books* depict God's creation of Adam in his image. The archangel Michael brought the first human and had him bow down before God's face. God then commanded all the angels to bow down

to Adam. All the angels agreed to venerate the protoplast except Satan (and his angels); the latter refused to bow down before Adam because the first human was younger than Satan was.

It is significant that in the Gospel of Matthew the tempter asks Jesus to prostrate himself (literally "falling down") (πεσὼν) before Satan. Matthew seems more close to the Adamic tradition than Luke since in Luke πεσὼν is missing.

Satan's request for veneration can be part of the authors' Adam Christology: Satan, who lost his celestial status by refusing to venerate the First Adam, is now attempting to reverse the situation by asking the Last Adam to bow down.[17]

It is also important to note that while in early Adamic accounts God encourages veneration of the protoplast, in the later rabbinic stories he opposes this veneration.[18] Alan Segal demonstrated that these later rabbinic stories of opposition to the angelic veneration of Adam were part of the "two powers in heaven" controversy. It is possible that the details of the temptation narrative found in Matthew and Luke might anticipate these later rabbinic developments. These details might represent one of the early specimens of the "two powers in heaven" debate. In this respect it is noteworthy that in Matthew and Luke, Jesus categorically opposes any possibility of veneration of anyone except God.

Negative Transformation

Although scholars previously noticed that Satan's request for veneration alludes to the story of the angelic veneration of the protoplast, they often missed the visionary and transformational aspects of this account. Even in Adam's aforementioned veneration, the motif of the veneration of the protoplast is implicitly linked to the tradition of veneration of the divine glory, since Adam serves there as sort of representation or replica of the divine anthropomorphic extent. The *Kavod* imagery thus appears to be present already in the *Primary Adam Books* where God asks angels to venerate not simply Adam, but the image of God. The veneration by the angelic hosts suggests that Adam is identified there with *Kavod*—the traditional object of angelic veneration in apocalyptic accounts.

Satan's request for veneration seems also connected with the traditions of vision and transformation. What is important here is that Satan requests veneration for himself while standing on the mountain, the location that was interpreted by scholars as a reference to the place of the divine presence. The motif of Satan on the mountain appears to constitute here a sort of

the counterpart of the divine habitation. Could it be that Satan positions himself here as a sort of the second power or, more precisely, as the negative counterpart of *Kavod*?

In Jewish apocalyptic writing the motif of the prostration before the divine *Kavod* often represents one of the preparatory stages for the transformation of a seer into a celestial being, or even his identification with the divine extent.[19] In the course of this initiation a visionary often acquires the nature of the object of his veneration, including the luminosity that underlines his identification with the radiant manifestation of the divine form.

In the context of these traditions it is possible that in the temptation narrative one can find a similar transformational motif. One can encounter here an example of negative transformational mysticism: by forcing Jesus to bow down, the tempter wants the seer to become identified with Satan's form, in exact opposition to the visionaries of Jewish apocalyptic writings who through their prostration before the divine Face become identified with the divine *Kavod*.

The Flooded Arboretums

The Garden Traditions in the Slavonic Version of *3 Baruch* and the *Book of Giants*

> Listen, Baruch. In the first place, the tree was the vine, but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Satanael had planted it.
>
> —*3 Bar.* 4:8

Introduction

The apocalypse known as *3 Baruch* depicts a celestial tour during which an angelic guide leads a visionary through five heavens, revealing to him the wonders of the upper realm. Scholars have noted that some details of this heavenly journey resonate with the visionary accounts found in Enochic materials.[1] Despite the similarities, the author of *3 Baruch* seems to avoid making direct references to the motifs and themes associated with Enochic tradition. In the regard, Richard Bauckham comments: "It is remarkable that *3 Baruch*, which throughout chapters 2–5 is preoccupied with the stories of Gen 2–11, makes no reference to the Watchers."[2] He suggests, further, that the author of this apocalypse "is perhaps engaged in a polemical rejection of the Enoch traditions, so that as well as substituting Baruch for Enoch he also substitutes the human builders for the angelic Watchers. Instead of deriving evil on earth from the fall of the Watchers, he emphasizes its origin in the Garden of Eden."[3] In response to this observation, Martha Himmelfarb agrees that various textual features of *3 Baruch* reveal a polemic against the Enochic literature.[4] These observations are intriguing and deserve further investigation. Even a brief look at the apocalypse shows that despite a conspicuous coloring of the Adamic interpretation of the origin of evil, the details of *3 Baruch's* descriptions of the garden expose the motifs and themes linked to another prominent story in which the source of evil is traced to the myth of the Watchers/Giants.

This chapter will investigate the account of paradise found in chapter 4 of *3 Baruch* and its possible connection with Enochic and Noachic traditions.

The Paradise Traditions of the Slavonic Version of 3 Baruch

3 Baruch became first known in its Slavonic version[5] and only later were the Greek manuscripts of the book uncovered.[6] Despite the availability of the Greek evidence, scholars noted that in some parts of the pseudepigraphon the Slavonic text seems to preserve more original material. Harry Gaylord's newly assembled Slavonic sources show several areas where Slavonic appears to be closer to the original.[7] One of such areas concerns the fourth chapter of the text. Gaylord observes that the overall structure and content of chapter 4 in Slavonic seem closer to the original[8] than the extant Greek version, which in this part "has suffered the most at the hands of Christian scribes."[9] Chapter 4 of the Slavonic version contains several important details that are missing from the Greek version, including the story of the angels planting the garden. Our investigation of chapter 4 will deal with the Slavonic version and will be supplemented by the Greek version.

In *3 Bar.* 4 the reader finds Baruch in the middle of his heavenly journey. The angelic guide continues to show him celestial wonders. In the beginning of the chapter, Baruch sees a serpent on a stone mountain who "eats earth like grass." Then, in 4:6, Baruch asks his *angelus interpres* to show him the tree that deceived Adam. In response to this request, Baruch hears the story about the planting and destruction of the heavenly garden. In the Slavonic version, the story has the following form:

> And the angel said to me "When God made the garden and commanded Michael to gather two hundred thousand[10] and three angels so that they could plant the garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel,[11] the nut; Raphael, the melon; and Satanael,[12] the vine. For at first his name in former times was Satanael, and similarly all the angels planted the various trees."[13] And again I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, show me the tree through which the serpent deceived Eve and Adam." And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch. In the first place, the tree was the vine, but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Satanael had planted it, and by that he deceived the protoplast Adam and Eve." And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, if God has cursed the vine and its seed, then how can it be of use now?" And the angel said to

> me, "Rightly you ask me. When God made the Flood upon the earth, he drowned every firstling, and he destroyed 104 thousand giants, and the water rose above the highest mountains 20 cubits above the mountains, and the water entered into the garden, (*and took all that was blooming*),[14] bringing out one shoot from the vine as God withdrew the waters. And there was dry land, and Noah went out from the ark and found the vine lying on the ground, and did not recognize it having only heard about it and its form. He thought to himself, saying, "This is truly the vine which Satanael planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam; because of this God cursed it and its seed. So if I plant it, then will God not be angry with me?" And he knelt down on (his) knees and fasted 40 days. Praying and crying, he said, "Lord, if I plant this, what will happen?" And the Lord send the angel Sarasael; he declared to him, "Rise, Noah, and plant the vine, and alter its name, and change it for the better." (*3 Bar.* 4:7–15).[15]

The depiction conveys several rare traditions about the garden of which two are especially important for this investigation: the angels planting the garden and the flooding of this garden by the waters of the Deluge. Both of these traditions are preserved only in this pseudepigraphon. There are, however, some early materials that seem to allude to the same rare traditions about the garden's planting the garden and flooding. One of these sources includes the fragments of the *Book of Giants*.

The Garden Traditions in the Book of Giants

The composition known as the *Book of Giants* exists only in a very fragmentary form preserved in Jewish and Manichean sources, including the Aramaic fragments of the *Book of Giants* found at Qumran,[16] the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants*,[17] and the later Jewish text known as the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*.[18]

In these materials associated with the *Book of Giants*, we find the themes of the planting and the destroying of a garden. The Aramaic fragment of the *Book of Giants* from Qumran (4Q530) and the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* depict a dream in which the giant Hahyah, the son of the watcher Shemihazah, sees a certain garden planted and then destroyed.

4Q530 lines 3–12 read:

> Then two of them dreamed dreams, and the sleep of their eyes and come to[. . .]their dreams. And he said in the assembly of

> [his frien]ds, the Nephilin, [. . . in] my dream; I have seen in this night [. . .] gardeners and they were watering [. . .] numerous roo[ts] issued from their trunk [. . .] I watched until tongues of fire from [. . .] all the water and the fire burned in all [. . .] Here is the end of the dream.[19]

The fragment seems to depict certain gardeners planting or sustaining a garden by watering its numerous "roots." It also portrays the destruction of the same garden by water and fire. The description of both events is very fragmentary and many features of the story appear to be missing in 4Q530. Both motifs seem better preserved in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, which provides additional important details. It refers directly to the planting of the garden by using the Hebrew verb נטע:

> One night the sons of Shemhazai, Hiwwa and Hiyya,[20] saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw the great stone spread over the earth. . . . The other (son) saw a garden, *planted* (נטוע)[21] whole with (many) kinds of trees and (many) kinds of precious stones. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches. When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, and, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: "The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons."[22]

Besides 4Q530 and the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, the Hahyah/Hiyya dream is also mentioned in the Middle Persian Kawân fragment *j* of the Manichean *Book of Giants* published by Walter Bruno Henning. The evidence, however, is very terse and ambiguous,[23] containing only one line: "Nariman[24] saw a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . ."[25]

Henning suggests that this fragment should be interpreted in light of another Middle Persian fragment, *D* (M 625c), which links the Watchers with the trees:

> [O]utside . . . and . . . left . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . and the trees that come out, those are the Egregoroi, and the giants that came out of the women. And . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over. . . .[26]

Several important details in the above mentioned descriptions from Jewish and Manichean sources should be clarified. The first concerns the subjects planting the garden. 4Q530 refers to the gardeners watering numerous roots issued from their trunk. Who are these gardeners? Józef Milik was first to identify the gardeners as angelic beings. He argued that the gardeners are "guardian angels" or "bailiffs of the world-garden" and are matched by the shepherds in the *Book of Dreams* in *1 En*. 89:59 and 90:1.[27] Loren Stuckenbruck agrees that the gardeners might be angelic beings, but notes that there is reason to question whether the gardeners are meant to represent good angelic beings.[28] He suggests that in light of 4Q530 line 8 the ultimate outcome of the gardeners' work seems to be the production of "great shoots" from the root source, which, in Stuckenbruck's opinion, signifies "the birth of the giants from the women."[29] He further argues that the "watering" activity is a metaphor for impregnation and the gardeners, in fact, represent fallen angelic beings, the Watchers.[30] John Reeves had earlier suggested that the gardeners might represent the Watchers prior to their apostasy.[31] He notes that the image of the gardeners "watering" the garden may allude to the initial educational mission of the Watchers, who according to *Jub*. 4:15 were originally sent by God to earth to instruct humans in moral conduct.[32]

The second detail of the description concerns the imagery of the trees. It seems that the trees symbolize not the vegetation, but the inhabitants of the garden: angelic, human, or composite creatures. Arboreal metaphors are often used in Enochic tradition to describe the Watchers and the Giants (cf. CD 2:17–19).

Another important detail is found in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, in which the destruction of the garden is associated with the flood and Noah's escape from it. 4Q530 line10 also seems to allude to the flood, since Hahyah's dream mentions the destruction of the garden by fire and *water*. A short Qumran fragment, 6Q8, also provides evidence for the connection of Hahyah's dream with Noah's escape. Florentino García Martínez observes that the reference to Noah and his sons in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* has its equivalent in 6Q8 line 2,[33] which speaks of three shoots preserved from the flood so as to signify the escape of Noah and his three sons.[34]

John Reeves[35] offers the following reconstruction of the dream based on the two fragments:[36]

> Hahyah beholds in his vision a grove of trees carefully attended by gardeners. This tranquil scene is interrupted by the sudden appearance (or transformation?) of two hundred figures within this garden. The result of this invasion was the production of

> "great" shoots sprouting up from the roots of the trees. While Hahyah viewed this scene, emissaries from Heaven arrived and ravaged the garden with water and fire, leaving only one tree bearing three branches as the sole survivor of the destruction.[37]

A comparison of this description from the *Book of Giants* with the story found in the Slavonic version of *3 Bar.* 4 shows that both accounts seem to have three similar events that follow one another in the same sequence: the planting of the garden, the destruction of the garden, and the escape of one tree from the destruction. These intriguing similarities call for a more through investigation of the parallels between the garden traditions found in the *3 Bar.* 4 and the *Book of Giants*.

The Angelic Planting of the Garden (3 Baruch 4:7–8)

The motif of angels planting the garden is uniquely preserved only in the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch*.[38] In the text, the tale about the planting comes from the mouth of Baruch's angelic guide. From him the visionary learns that God commanded Michael to gather two hundred thousand and three angels in order to plant the garden. The story further relates that Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, and Satanael planted five trees. Other angels also planted "various trees."

Several features in the story of the planting found in *3 Bar.* 4:7–8 seem to resonate with the account found in the *Book of Giants*. These details include the following significant points:

1. *3 Bar.* 4:7 mentions two hundred thousand and three angels planting the garden;
2. the fallen angel Satanael also takes part in the plantation of the "trees";
3. according to the story, Satanael plants the bad tree—the tree of deception;
4. the tree is described as a sinful desire that the fallen angel had for humans;
5. *3 Bar.* 4:7 mentions the planting of five types of trees in the garden.

1. The first feature of *3 Bar.* 4 that recalls the *Book of Giants* is the number of angelic hosts involved in planting the garden. *3 Bar.* 4:7 states

that God commanded Michael[39] to gather two hundred thousand and three angels in order to plant the garden. The numeral two hundred thousand and three, reserved here for the number of angelic hosts, gives a clue to the reader into seeing the angelic "gardeners" described in *3 Bar.* 4:7 as somehow related to the fallen Watchers, who in the *Book of Giants* "planted" gigantic "trees" on the earth through their iniquities.[40] In early Enochic accounts, the numeral "two hundred" often refers to the number of the Watchers descending on Mount Hermon.[41] Some later Enochic accounts, however, tend to exaggerate the number of the fallen Watchers, depicting them as two hundred thousand or two hundred myriads. For example, in the longer recension *2 En.* 18:3, the angelic guides give Enoch the following information about the Watchers: "These are the *Gregori* (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, *200 myriads*, together with their prince Satanail."[42] It is noteworthy that in *3 Baruch* 4, similar to *2 Enoch* 18, the tradition about the two hundred myriads of angelic beings is creatively conflated with the name of Satanail.[43]

2. In *3 Bar.* 4:7–8, one of the angelic creatures planting the garden along with the four principal angels (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael) is the fallen angel Satanael. The description of Satanael as the gardener is puzzling. The pseudepigraphical texts usually follow the biblical account[44] that claims that the garden was planted by God (Gen 2:8).[45] This motif of the fallen "planter" might, therefore, parallel the *Book of Giants*, where the fallen angels are also depicted as gardeners.

3. In *3 Baruch* and in the *Book of Giants*, the "planting of trees/tree" is part of the angelic plot to corrupt the human race. In the *Book of Giants*, the "gardeners" represented by fallen angelic beings, "plant" bad "trees"—the wicked offspring that, through their enormous appetites, brought many disasters to the antediluvian generation. In *3 Bar.* 4, the "gardener," the fallen angel Satanael, also plants a tree designed to cause the fall and degradation of the human race. In *3 Baruch*, the vine tree eventually becomes the tool through which Adam and Eve were deceived and corrupted.

4. The account in *3 Baruch* connects the tree planted by Satanael with the "sinful desire" spread by this fallen angel over the first humans. In 4:8, the *angelus interpres* tells Baruch that "in the first place, the tree was the vine, but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire[46] which Satanael spread over Adam and Eve."[47] This reference to the "sinful desire" of the fallen angel over humans is intriguing since it alludes to the terminology found in Enochic tradition. Thus *1 En.* 6 says that the Watchers had sinful desire for human creatures.[48] The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* also uses the term "evil desire" or "evil inclination" (Heb. יצר הרע) in reference to the relationships between the descended Watchers and the "daughters of man":

> Forthwith the Holy One allowed the *evil inclination* (יצר הרע) to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, "When the sons of God saw the daughters of man," they could not restrain their inclination.[49]

In the story from the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael,* the evil desire of the Watchers over humans seems to come as consequence of the Watchers' disrespect for humanity in general and the first human creature in particular.[50] It is intriguing that some Russian manuscripts of *3 Baruch* contain the passage about Satanael's refusal to venerate Adam,[51] which recalls the account found in the *Midrash* 1–4.[52] Harry Gaylord, however, does not include this account in his English translation of the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* in *OTP*, considering it to be a later interpolation.

5. Finally, *3 Bar.* 4:7 refers to five kinds of trees. The text says that the olive tree was planted by Michael, the apple by Gabriel, the nut by Uriel, the melon by Raphael, and the vine by Satanael. Although the number of the principal angels seems unusual, the reference to the "five trees" excites interest in light of a passage found among the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants* published by Henning. This fragment, similar to *3 Baruch* 4:7, also operated with the notion of the "five trees": "evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals" (frg. h).[53]

In both Enochic and Adamic accounts, the flooded garden is depicted as a place where the drama of the primeval evil unfolds. It has been already mentioned in our study that Enochic and Adamic traditions often compete with each other, offering different explanations of the origin of evil in the world. Despite apparent differences in these two mythologies of evil, they share many common details that reveal a persistent and strenuous polemic between the two traditions. The description in *3 Bar.* 4 of the flooded garden as the arena of the primordial heavenly rebellion involving angelic beings of the highest status brings the two traditions closer together.

The Flood in the Garden (3 Baruch 4:10–11)

In *3 Baruch* 4:8, the angel tells the visionary about the evil role the vine tree played in Satanael's deception of Adam and Eve. According to the story, God, as a result of this deception, cursed the vine and its seed. Upon hearing this story, Baruch asked the angel why, despite God's curse, the vine can still exist. The angel told Baruch about the flood in the heavenly garden.

The story recounts that God first caused the flood upon the earth, which led to the drowning of "every firstling," including 104,000 giants. Then the water rose above the highest mountains and flooded the heavenly garden. As God withdrew the water, "all that was blooming" was destroyed except for one shoot from the vine. When the land appeared from the water, Noah went out from his ark and discovered the vine lying on the ground.

Several points of this flood story resemble the account found in the *Book of Giants*, including the following details:

1. In *3 Bar.* 4:10 and in the *Book of Giants*, the flooding of the garden is paralleled to the flood on the earth.
2. In both traditions the destruction of all vegetation (in *3 Baruch*—"all that was blooming")[54] in the garden "mirrors" the destruction of all flesh and the giants on earth.
3. In both traditions the surviving "plant" from the flooded garden is paralleled to the escape of Noah from the flood.

1. Later rabbinic materials sometimes operate with the notion of two gardens: the celestial garden of Eden and the terrestrial garden. In *3 En.* 5:5–6 we learn that before the generation of Enosh had sinned, God's *Shekhinah* freely traveled from one garden to the other:

> When the Holy One, blessed be he, went out and in from the garden to Eden, and from Eden to the garden, from the garden to heaven, and from heaven to the garden of Eden, all gazed at the bright image of Shekhinah and were unharmed—until the coming of the generation of Enosh, who was the chief of all the idolaters in the world.[55]

The story of the garden in *3 Bar.* 4 might represent an early tradition about the two gardens, since in this apocalypse the garden becomes the locus of celestial and terrestrial events at the same time. In the story of the flood in *3 Bar.* 4:10–11, the events taking place in heaven and on earth are depicted as if they mirror each other: the destruction of "all flesh," including the giants on earth, mirrors the destruction of "all that was blooming" in the heavenly garden. Both accounts also mention survivors, the patriarch Noah from the flooded earth and one plant from the flooded heavenly garden. This parallelism resembles the one in the *Book of Giants*, where the dream(s) about the destroyed "vegetation" of the garden and the single preserved shoot symbolized the drowned giants and Noah's miraculous escape.

2. As we mentioned above, in the Enochic traditions the fallen angels and their offspring are often depicted through arboreal imagery. CD 2:17–19 refers to the giants as tall cedars.[56] The *Book of Giants* supports this tendency: in the Manichean fragments of this composition, the Watchers are unambiguously associated with the trees.[57] The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* also seems to take the vegetation of the garden as a symbol of the Watchers/Giants group. This correspondence is made not directly but through parallelism. In the *Midrash*, Shemhazai's statement about the flood on earth follows immediately after Hiyya's dream about the destruction of the trees. The two events seem to "mirror" each other in such a way that the first depicts the second symbolically.

3 Bar. 4:10 follows the same pattern, portraying the destruction of "all flesh" and the giants on earth and the destruction of "all that was blooming" in the heavenly garden as two "mirroring" processes taking place in the celestial and terrestrial realms. The similarities between the descriptions in *3 Bar.* 4 and those of the *Book of Giants* seem not to be coincidental. In addition, the description of "all flesh" in *3 Bar.* 4:10 includes a direct reference to the drowned giants.[58]

3. The next is the identification of Noah with the "escaped plant." In the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, the giant Hiyya beholds in his dream one tree with three branches that survived the destruction of the garden. The text states that "an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches."[59] A verse later, the story switches to Noah[60] and his three sons:[61] "He (Shemhazai) said to them (Hiwwa and Hiyya): 'The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons.'"[62] In the *Midrash* 10b–11a, the reference to Noah and his three sons enduring the Flood follows immediately after the symbolic depiction of the tree with three branches surviving the destruction. Although the *Midrash* does not directly identify the tree with Noah, it makes the identification obvious by correlating these two descriptions.

The same correlation is seen in *3 Bar.* 4:10b–11, where the reference to Noah and his escape follows immediately after the statement about the preserved shoot: "[A]nd the water entered into the garden, (and took all that was blooming), bringing out one shoot from the vine as God withdrew the waters. And there was dry land, and Noah went out from the ark."[63] It is important, however, that the escaped "tree," which in the *Book of Giants* was associated with the righteous remnant, becomes associated in *3 Baruch* with the evil deception. This difference might point to the polemical character of *3 Baruch*'s appropriation of Enochic imagery.

The Noachic Narrative (3 Baruch 4:11–15)

3 Bar. 4:11–15 deals with Noah's story. It depicts the patriarch after his debarkation seeing the shoot of vine lying on the ground. Noah hesitates to plant the vine, knowing the fatal role this plant had in deceiving Adam and Eve. Puzzled, Noah decides to ask the Lord in prayer if he can plant the vine. The Lord sends the angel Sarasael, who delivers to Noah the following command: "Rise, Noah, and plant the vine, and alter its name and change it for the better."[64] Sarasael's address to Noah is important for establishing the connection between *3 Baruch* 4 and the broader Enochic/Noachic traditions. It reveals that the author of *3 Baruch* was familiar not only with the details of Noah's escape from the flood that are found in the extant materials of the *Book of Giants* but with the peculiar details of Noah's story in the *Book of the Watchers* and in the traditions associated with the *Book of Noah*.

The Greek and Ethiopic versions of *1 En.* 10:1–3 attest that God commissioned Sariel to inform Noah about the approaching Flood.[65] This story might possibly parallel Sarasael's[66] revelation to Noah in *3 Bar.* 4:15, but Sariel's revelation in *1 En.* 10:1–3 does not contain any information about the plant. It may be, however, that the "original" reading of *1 En.* 10:3 survived in its entirety not in the Ethiopic text of *1 Enoch* but in the text preserved by Syncellus,[67] which corresponds closely to the Aramaic evidence.[68] In the passage found in Syncellus, God commissioned Sariel to tell Noah not only about his escape from the flood but also about a *plant*: "And now instruct the righteous one what to do, and the son of Lamech, that he may save his life and escape for all time; and from him a plant shall be planted and established for all generations for ever."[69]

Although "a plant" in this revelation can be taken as a symbolic reference to the restored humanity[70] or Noah himself, who is described in *1 En.* 10:16 as the "plant of righteousness and truth," some texts associated with Enochic traditions reveal that besides "planting" justice and righteousness, Noah was involved literally in the planting of the vine. Thus, *Jub.* 7:1, for example, says that "during the seventh week, in its first year, in this jubilee Noah planted a vine at the mountain (whose name was Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat) on which the ark had come to rest. It produced fruit in the fourth year."[71] Here, just as in *3 Bar.* 4:13–15, the planting of the vine is associated with Noah's debarkation.

Noah's story as found in *3 Bar.* 4:11–16 gives additional support to the hypothesis about the existence of the materials associated with the *Book of Noah*. Florentino García Martínez's pioneering research[72] demonstrates that the materials of the *Book of Noah* are closely associated with the

Enochic/Noachic traditions found in *1 Enoch*, *Jub.*, the Qumran materials, and Syncellus.[73] In *3 Bar.* 4 several traditions associated with the *Book of Noah* appear to be intimately interconnected, which might point to their possible common origin in the *Book of Noah*. For example, in *3 Bar.* 4:15–17, Sarasael tells Noah about the dangers of the vine. The angel tells him that the plant still retains its evil. This revelation about the plant and the evil it possesses recalls another passage possibly associated with the *Book of Noah*, namely, the tradition about the angelic revelation to Noah recorded in *Jub.* 10:1–14, which has it that Noah was taught by angels about the plants and evil spirits.[74]

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated a number of intriguing parallels between the theme of the garden in *3 Bar.* 4 and similar traditions associated with the materials of the *Book of Giants*.[75] In both accounts, the garden is depicted as the place of the primordial heavenly rebellion involving angelic being(s). Although *3 Bar.* 4 is written from the Adamic perspective, this account demonstrates several details that are absent in "traditional" Adamic accounts but can be found in the Enochic lore. This suggests that the author of *3 Baruch* might be involved in anti-Enochic polemics borrowing and rewriting Enochic motifs and themes from the Adamic perspective. Therefore, the narrative of the planting and the destruction of the garden in *3 Baruch* seems to represent the locus of intense debates involving substantial rewriting of the "original" Enochic/Noachic motifs and themes. The details of the Enochic Watchers/Giants story appear to be rearranged[76] and transferred to new characters of the Adamic story, including Samael/Satanael and the serpent.[77]

The author of *3 Baruch* seems to be engaged in anti-Enochic polemics, not only with the traditions associated with the *Book of Giants* but also with the Enochic motifs and themes found in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Jubilees*, and Syncellus. It appears that even the theme of the flooding of the heavenly garden represents an anti-Enochic motif. *Jubilees* 4 depicts Enoch as the one who was translated to the garden of Eden. *Jub.* 4:23 further claims that because of Enoch "the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment."[78]

A substantial part of *3 Bar.* 4 is occupied by the Noachic account and the Noachic tradition found in *3 Bar.* 4 is closely connected with the fragments of the *Book of Noah* found in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the Qumran fragments, and Syncellus. It appears, however, that the Noachic materials found in *3 Bar.*

4 have also undergone the "Adamic" revisions. Harry Gaylord observes that "a strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding floodwaters."[79]

Notes

Introduction

1. On the temporal and spatial symmetry in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, see J. M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSS, 91; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 212–19.

2. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 212. In his other book James Scott noted that "the juxtaposition of *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*—the beginning of the nations and their cataclysmic end—occurs not only in Jubilees 8–9 itself, but also in Dan. 12:1 and the War Rule." J. M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTSMS, 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 227. On *Urzeit/Endzeit* typology, especially in the Noachic materials, see also G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; STDJ, 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–58 at 142–43; D. Dimant, "Noah in Early Jewish Literature," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 123–50 at 135–36, 141.

3. On the symmetry of the protological and eschatological aeons in *2 Enoch*, see A. Orlov, "The Pillar of the World: The Eschatological Role of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *Henoch* 30.1 (2008): 119–35.

4. On the imagery of Jesus as the new Moses, see D. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

5. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 217.

6. Cf. Exod 25:8–40: "And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst. According to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and of all its furniture, so you shall make it. . . . And see that you make them after the pattern for them, which is being shown you on the mountain." (RSV); 1 Chr 28:11–19: "Then David gave Solomon his son the plan of the vestibule of the temple, and of its houses, its treasuries, its upper rooms, and its inner chambers, and of the room for the mercy seat. . . . All this he made clear by the writing from the hand of the Lord concerning it, all the work to be done according to the plan." (RSV); Heb 8:5: "They serve a copy and shadow of the heavenly sanctuary; for when Moses was about to erect the tent, he was instructed by God, saying, 'See that you make everything according to the pattern which was shown you on the mountain.'" (RSV).

7. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 217.

8. Cf. Ezek 1; *1 En.* 14:9–18; *Apoc. Ab.*

9. On the angelology of the *Book of Jubilees*, see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Black, 1902), lvi–lviii; M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Droz, 1960), 75–92; K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ, II.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Nohn, 1981), 322–24; D. Dimant, "The Sons of Heaven: The Theory of the Angels in the Book of Jubilees in Light of the Writings of the Qumran Community," in *A Tribute to Sarah: Studies in Jewish Philosophy and Cabala Presented to Professor Sara A. Heller-Wilensky* (ed. M. Idel, D. Dimant, and S. Rosenberg; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994), 97–118 [in Hebrew]; J. VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 7 (2000): 378–93; H. Najman, "Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority," *DSD* 7 (2000) 313–33.

10. On this tradition, see A. Orlov, "Moses' Heavenly Counterpart in the Book of Jubilees and the Exagoge of Ezekiel the Tragedian," *Bib* 88 (2007): 153–73.

11. See J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 182–83; M. Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 177–80; J. Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (NTOA, 30; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995, 144–45; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT, 2.94; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997), 151; A. Orlov, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob," in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture* (2 vols.; ed. C. A. Evans; SSEJC, 9; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 2.59–76.

12. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," 182–83.

13. One of the specimens of this tradition can be found in the *Prayer of Joseph* and in the targumic elaborations of the story of the patriarch Jacob that depict his heavenly identity as his "image" engraved on the Throne of Glory. The traditions about the heavenly "image" of Jacob are present in several targumic texts, including *Tg. Ps.-J.*, *Tg. Neof.*, and *Frg. Tg.* Thus, for example, in *Tg. Ps.-J.* to Gen 28:12 the following description can be found: "He [Jacob] had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching toward the heavens . . . and on that day they (angels) ascended to the heavens on high, and said, Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image is fixed (engraved) in the Throne of Glory, and whom you have desired to see." *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (tr. M. Maher, M.S.C.; ArBib, 1B; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 99–100. *Tg. Neof.* and *Frg. Tg.* also affirm this tradition of the heavenly double of Jacob: *Tg. Neof.*: "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens; and behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: 'Come and see the pious man whose image is engraved in the throne of Glory, whom you desired to see.' And behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and

observed him." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (tr. M. McNamara, M.S.C.; ArBib, 1A; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 140; *Frg. Tg.*: "And he dreamt that there was a ladder set on the ground, whose top reached towards the heavens; and behold the angels that had accompanied him from his father's house ascended to announce to the angels of the heights: 'Come and see the pious man, whose image is fixed to the throne of glory.'" M. L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources* (2 vols.; AnBib, 76; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 1.57 and 2.20.

14. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," 182–83.

15. Thus, for example, John Collins draws his attention to a cluster of peculiar symmetrical depictions repeatedly found in the second part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, in which humankind is divided into two parts, half on the right and half on the left, representing respectively the chosen people and the Gentiles. These portions of humanity are labeled in the text as the lot of God and the lot of Azazel. Collins argues that "the symmetrical division suggests a dualistic view of the world." J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 229.

16. See A. Orlov, "'The Likeness of Heaven': *Kavod* of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," in this volume.

17. In this aspect the symmetry of "heroes" and their negative "counterparts" or "opponents" might be rooted in the symmetry of the sacred space where not only the earth "mirrors" heaven, but also the underworld represents a sort of distorted "reflection" of heaven.

18. Cf. *2 En.* 22.

19. Cf. *1 En.* 86:1–4.

20. On Satan and Satan's traditions, see: G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (ed. G. Anderson et al.; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000), 83–110; C. Breytenbach and P. L. Day, "Satan," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 726–32; J. Dan, "Samael and the Problem of Jewish Gnosticism," in *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism* (ed. A. L. Ivry, E. R. Wolfson, and A. Arkush; Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 257–76; P. L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible* (HSM, 43; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988); N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); H. E. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost His '-el,'" *JJS* 33 (1982): 303–309; V. P. Hamilton, "Satan," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols.; ed. D. N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5.985–98; H. A. Kelly, *Towards the Death of Satan: The Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology* (London: Chapman, 1968); idem, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); R. S. Kluger, *Satan in the Old Testament* (SJT, 7; Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967); A. Lods, "Les origines de la figure de Satan, ses fonctions à la cour céleste," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (2 vols.; eds. J.-A. Blanchet et al.; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1939), 2.649–60; C. A. Patrides, "The Salvation of Satan," *JHI* 28 (1967): 467–78; E. H. Pagels, "The Social History of Satan, the 'Intimate Enemy': A Preliminary Sketch," *HTR* 84.2 (1991): 105–28;

idem, "The Social History of Satan, 2: Satan in the New Testament Gospels," *JAAR* 62.1 (1994): 17–58; idem, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); idem, "The Social History of Satan, 3: John of Patmos and Ignatius of Antioch: Contrasting Visions of 'God's People,'" *HTR* 99 (2006): 487–505; J. B. Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); M. Schneider, "The Myth of the Satan in the *Book of Bahir*," *Kabbalah* 20 (2009): 287–343 [in Hebrew]; R. Stichel, "Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apocalypse," in *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien* (ed. R. Lauer and P. Schreiner; AAWG, 177; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 116–28; M. E. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan. The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); idem, "'Be You a Lyre for Me': Identity or Manipulation in Eden," *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity* (ed. E. Grypeou and H. Spurling; JCPS, 18; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 87–99.

21. The Latin *Vita* tells the following story; "'O Adam, all my enmity, jealousy, and resentment is towards you, since on account of you I was expelled and alienated from my glory, which I had in heaven in the midst of the angels. Then the Lord God grew angry with me and sent me forth with my angels from our glory. On account of you we were expelled from our dwelling into this world and cast out upon the earth. Immediately we were in grief, since we had been despoiled of so much glory, and we grieved to see you in such a great happiness of delights.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (ed. G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone; EJL, 17; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 15–18E.

22. "For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you" (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14). A. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham* (TCS, 3; Atlanta: Scholars, 2004), 20.

23. Targumic tradition might also reflect this situation of the transference of the attributes and conditions between the protoplast(s) and their protological opponent(s) when it says that God clothed Adam and Eve with the luminous garments of their Seducer. In *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 3:21 the following tradition can be found: "And the Lord God made *garments of glory* for Adam and for his wife from the skin which the serpent had cast off (to be worn) on the skin of their (garments of) fingernails of which they had been stripped, and he clothed them." *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (tr. M. Maher, M.S.C.; ArBib, 1B; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 29.

24. On early Jewish demonology, see W. M. Alexander, *Demonic Possession in the New Testament: Its Historical, Medical and Theological Aspects* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980); P. S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (2 vols.; ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.331–53; C. Auffarth and L. T. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Fall of the Angels* (TBN, 6; Leiden: Brill, 2004); B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels: Soldiers of Satan's Realm* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1952); G. A. Barton, "The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 31 (1912): 156–67; D. Ben-Amos, "On Demons," in *Creation and Re-Creation in Jewish Thought: Festschrift in Honor of Joseph Dan on the*

Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday (ed. R. Elior and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2005), 27-37; J. M. Blair, *De-Demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lilith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible* (FAT, 2.37; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2009); O. Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (BWANT, 90; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970); idem, *Das Neue Testament und die dämonischen Mächte* (SBS, 58; Stuttgart: KBW, 1972); idem, *Christus Exorcista: Dämonismus und Taufe im Neuen Testament* (BWANT, 96; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972); W. Carr, *Angels and Principalities: The Background, Meaning and Development of the Pauline Phrase hai archai kai hai exousiai* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); F. C. Conybeare, "The Demonology of the NT," *JQR* 8 (1896): 576–608; D. Dimant, *The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them* (PhD diss.; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974) [in Hebrew]; J. Dochhorn, "The Motif of the Angels' Fall in Early Judaism," in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. F. V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas, and K. Schöpflin; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature: Yearbook 2007; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 477–95; H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1904); S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (SO, 20; 2nd ed.; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966); O. Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie: Ein biblisch-theologischer Versuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988); E. Ferguson, *Demonology of the Early Christian World* (Symposium Series, 12; New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984); J. G. Gammie, "The Angelology and Demonology in the Septuagint of the Book of Job," *HUCA* 56 (1985): 1–19; H. Kaupel, *Die Dämonen im Alten Testament* (Augsberg: Benno Filser, 1930); H. B. Kuhn, "The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses," *JBL* 67 (1948): 217–32; L. Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1926); A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and D. Römheld (eds.), *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt / Demons: The Demonology of Isrealite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in the Context of its Environment* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2003); E. Langton, *Essentials of Demonology: A Study of Jewish and Christian Doctrine, its Origin and Development* (London: Epworth, 1949); J. Y. Lee, "Interpreting the Demonic Powers in Pauline Thought," *NT* 12 (1970): 54–69; L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents* (JSJSS, 49; Leiden: Brill, 1996); B. Lincoln, "Cēšmag, the Lie, and the Logic of Zoroastrian Demonology," *JAOS* 129 (2009): 45–55; P. Lory, "Sexual Intercourse between Humans and Demons in the Islamic Tradition," in *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism* (ed. W. J. Hanegraaff and J. J. Kripal; Aries, 7; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 49–64; J. Lyons and A. Reimer, "The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures," *DSD* 5 (1998): 16–32; J. Maier, "Geister (Dämonen), B.III.d. Talmudisches Judentum," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (23 vols.; ed. T. Klauser; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976), 9.668–88; C. Martone, "Evil or Devil? Belial between the Bible and Qumran," *Henoch* 26 (2004): 115–27; C. Molenberg, "A Study of the Roles of Shemihaza and Asael in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JSJ* 35 (1984): 136–46; T. Mullen, *The*

Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature (HSM, 24; Chico: Scholars, 1980); G. Necker, "Fallen Angels in the *Book of Life*," *JSQ* 11 (2004): 73–82; A. Piñero, "Angels and Demons in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*," *JSJ* 24 (1993): 191–214; A. Y. Reed, "The Trickery of the Fallen Angels and the Demonic Mimesis of the Divine: Etiology, Demonology, and Polemics in the Writings of Justin Martyr." *JECS* 12 (2004): 141–71; A. M. Reimer, "Rescuing the Fallen Angels: The Case of the Disappearing Angels at Qumran," *DSD* 7 (2000): 334–53; J. B. Russell, *The Devil. Perceptions from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament* (QD, 3; New York: Herder and Herder, 1961); J. Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978): 425–39; E. Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (WUNT, 2.157; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2002); M. A. Williams, "The Demonizing of the Demiurge: The Innovation of Gnostic Myth," in *Innovation in Religious Traditions: Essays in the Interpretation of Religious Change* (ed. M. A. Williams, C. Cox, and M. S. Jaffee; RelSoc, 31; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1992), 73–107; A. T. Wright, *The Origin of the Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT, 2.198; Tübingen: Mohr/ Siebeck, 2005); idem, "Some Observations of Philo's *De Gigantibus* and Evil Spirits in Second Temple Judaism," *JSJ* 36 (2005): 471–88.

25. On the subject of two mythologies of evil see M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ, 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–49 at 144–49; K. Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic Traditions in the Parables? A Query on 1 Enoch 69:6," in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 352–60; J. Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-ʿAza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

"The Likeness of Heaven"

1. *Apoc. Ab.* 14:13 reads: "Since God gave him [Azazel] the *heaviness* (тяготоу) and the will against those who answer him." R. Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire* (ŹM, 129; Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1987), 150.

2. Rubinkiewicz points to the presence of the formulae in the Gospel of Luke 4:6 "I will give you all their authority and splendor."

3. Rubinkiewicz provides a helpful outline of usage of Ezekielean traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. He notes that "among the prophetic books, the book of Ezekiel plays for our author the same role as Genesis in the Pentateuch. The vision of the divine throne (*Apoc. Ab.* 18) is inspired by Ezek 1 and 10. Abraham sees the four living creatures (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:5–11) depicted in Ezek 1 and 10. He also sees the wheels of fire decorated with eyes all around (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3), the throne (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3; Ezek 1:26), the chariot (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:12 and Ezek 10:6); he hears the voice of God (*Apoc. Ab.* 19:1 and Ezek 1:28). When the cloud of fire raises up, he can hear 'the voice like the roaring sea' (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:1; Ezek 1:24). There is no

doubt that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* takes the texts of Ezek 1 and 10 as sources of inspiration." Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 87.

4. Cf. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 229.

5. *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT, 2.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 418.

6. Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, 418. Stone further makes a connection here between dualistic tendencies found in *Apoc. Ab.* and the traditions from the Qumran documents. He observes that "the idea of joint rule of Azazel and God in this world resembles the doctrine of the Rule of Community, according to which there are two powers God appointed to rule in the world (cf. 1QS 2:20–1)." Stone, *Jewish Writing of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, 418. It should be noted that the connections between the dualism of the Slavonic apocalypse and the Palestinian dualistic traditions have been recognized by several scholars. Already Box, long before the discovery of the DSS, argued that the dualistic features of the Slavonic apocalypse are reminiscent of the "Essene" dualistic ideology. Thus, Box suggested that "the book is essentially Jewish, and there are features in it which suggest Essene origin; such are its strong predestinarian doctrine, *its dualistic conceptions*, and its ascetic tendencies." G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham. Edited, with a Translation from the Slavonic Text and Notes* (TED, 1.10; London, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), xxi.

7. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 229.

8. Ibid.

9. "In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* there is no ontological dualism. The created world is good before the eyes of God (22:2). There is no other God in the universe, than 'the one whom' Abraham 'searched for' and 'who has loved' him (19:3). There is evil in the world, but it is not inevitable. God has full control over the world and he does not permit the body of the just to remain in the hand of Azazel (13:10). Azazel is wrong if he thinks he can scorn justice and disperse the secret of heaven (14:4). He will be banished in the desert forever (14:5)." R. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983–85), 1.681–705 at 1.684.

10. He observes that "dans l'Apocalypse d'Abraham il n'y a pas trace d'un dualisme absolu. . . . Mais le monde révèle un certain dualisme. D'abord on découvre un dualisme spatial. Il y a la terre et l'Eden, la mer et les eaux supérieures, les hommes situés à gauche et les hommes situés à droite dans le tableau (XXI, 3–7). Il y a aussi un dualisme temporel: celui qui oppose le monde present (XXXII, 2) et le monde de la justice (XXIX, 18); le jour et les ténèbres (XVII, 22s.), l'humanité d'avant Abraham et l'humanité d'après Abraham (XXIV–XXV). L'humanité postérieure à Abraham est elle-même divisée entre le people de Dieu et les nations (XXII, 4–5; XXIV, 1). Il existe encore un dualisme éthique: on trouve des justes, mais aussi des méchants (XVII, 22; XXIII, 12); l'homme a le désir du mal (XXIII, 13), mais aussi celui des œuvres justes (XXVII, 9)." R. Rubinkiewicz, "La vision de l'histoire dans l'Apocalypse d'Abraham," *ANRW* 2.19.1 (1979): 137–51 at 149.

11. Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxvi.

12. B. Philonenko-Sayar and M. Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham. Introduction, texte slave, traduction et notes* (Semitica, 31; Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1981), 31.

13. Philonenko also draws attention to the expression found in *Apoc. Ab.* 14:6: "Since your inheritance are those who are with you, with men born with the stars and clouds. And their portion is you, and they come into being through your being." Philonenko sees in this expression a connection with the astrological lore found in some Qumran horoscopes which expresses the idea that the human beings from the time of their birth belong either to the "lot" of light or to the "lot" of darkness. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 32. Philonenko also sees the dualistic opposition between the "age of justice" (**въ вѣцѣ праведнемь**) and the "age of corruption" (**во тлѣннѣ вѣцѣ**). In his opinion all these instances represent remarkable expressions of a dualistic ideology.

14. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 32.

15. Thus, for example, Marc Philonenko noted that the word "lot" (Slav. **часть**) appears to be connected to the Hebrew גורל, a term attested multiple times in the Qumran materials. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 33. On the two lots, see also B. Philonenko-Sayar and M. Philonenko, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams* (JSHRZ, 5.5; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1982), 413–60 at 418; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 54.

16. For the Yom Kippur traditions in *Apoc. Ab.*, see L. L. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," *JSJ* 18 (1987): 165–79 at 157; C. Fletcher-Louis, "The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man," in *Auferstehung-Resurrection* (ed. F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck), 282; R. Helm, "Azazel in Early Jewish Literature," *AUSS* 32 (1994): 217–26 at 223; B. Lourié, "Propitiatorium in the Apocalypse of Abraham," in *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition: Continuity and Diversity* (ed. L. DiTommaso and C. Böttrich, with the assist. of M. Swoboda; TSAJ; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2010), 267–77; D. Stökl Ben Ezra, "Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic Imaginaire and the Roots of Jesus' High Priesthood," in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (ed. J. Assman and G. Stroumsa; SHR, 83; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 349–66; idem, "The Biblical Yom Kippur, the Jewish Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Church Fathers," *SP* 34 (2002): 493–502; idem, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (WUNT, 163; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2003), 94.

17. See Orlov, "Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: The Scapegoat Ritual," in this volume.

18. For the גורל terminology see Lev 16:8–10.

19. See for example, 1QS גורל בליעל (the lot of Belial); גורל קדושים (the lot of the holy ones). 1QM גורל בני חושך (the lot of the sons of darkness); גורל חושך (the lot of darkness). 11Q13 צדק [בי] מל גורל [י]אנש (the men of the lot of Melchizedek).

20. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7: "And he said to him, "Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since *Abraham's portion* (**часть Аврамля**) is in heaven, and *yours* is on earth."

Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 66.

21. *Apoc. Ab.* 10:15: "Stand up, Abraham, go boldly, be very joyful and rejoice! And I am with you, since *an honorable portion* (часть вѣчная) has been prepared for you by the Eternal One." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 18; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 60.

22. This identification of the positive lot with the lot of God is also present in the Qumran materials. Cf. 1QM 13:5–6: "For they are the lot of darkness but the lot of God is for [everlast]ing light." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; ed. F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 135.

23. *Apoc. Ab.* 20:1–5. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 25.

24. On the Azazel traditions, see Blair, *De-Demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lilith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible*, 55–63; J. De Roo, "Was the Goat for Azazel Destined for the Wrath of God?" *Bib* 81 (2000): 233–41; W. Fauth, "Auf den Spuren des biblischen Azazel (Lev 16): Einige Residuen der Gestalt oder des Namens in jüdisch-aramäischen, griechischen, koptischen, äthiopischen, syrischen und mandäischen Texten," *ZAW* 110 (1998): 514–34; C. L. Feinberg, "The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen," *BSac* 115 (1958): 320–31; M. Görg, "Beobachtungen zum sogenannten Azazel-Ritus," *BN* 33 (1986): 10–16; Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 165–79; Helm, "Azazel in Early Jewish Literature," 217–226; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilgeschehen: Studien zur Suhnetheologie der Priesterchrift und der Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testment* (WMANT, 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982); idem, "Azazel," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 240–48. B. Jurgens, *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Leviticus 16 in seinem Literarischen Kontext* (New York: Herder, 2001); H. M. Kümmel, "Ersatzkönig und Sündenbock," *ZAW* 80 (1986): 289–318; R. D. Levy, *The Symbolism of the Azazel Goat* (Bethesda: International Scholars Publication, 1998); O. Loretz, *Leberschau, Sündenbock, Asasel in Ugarit und Israel: Leberschau und Jahwestatue in Psalm 27, Leberschau in Psalm 74* (UBL, 3; Altenberge: CIS-Verlag, 1985); J. Maclean, "Barabbas, the Scapegoat Ritual, and the Development of the Passion Narrative," *HTR* 100 (2007): 309–34; Molenberg, "A Study of the Roles of Shemihaza and Asael in 1 Enoch 6–11," 136–46; J. Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (SJLA, 36; Leiden: Brill, 1983); D. Rudman, "A Note on the Azazel-goat Ritual," *ZAW* 116 (2004): 396–401; W. H. Shea, "Azazel in the Pseudepigrapha," *JATS* 13 (2002): 1–9; Stökl Ben Ezra, "Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic Imaginaire and the Roots of Jesus' High Priesthood," 349–66; idem, "The Biblical Yom Kippur, the Jewish Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Church Fathers," 493–502; idem, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*; A. Strobel, "Das jerusalemische Sündenbock-ritual. Topographische und landeskundische Erwägungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Lev. 16,10,21f," *ZDPV* 103 (1987): 141–68; H. Tawil, "ᶜAzazel the Prince of the Steepe: A Comparative Study," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 43–59; M. Weinfeld, "Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against Their ANE Background," *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1983), 95–129; A. Wright, *The Origin of the Evil*

Spirits, 104–17; D. P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (SBLDS, 101; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987).

25. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 21; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 68.

26. Although here and in *Apoc. Ab.* 10:15 the Slavonic word **часть** is used for designation of the "lots," *Apoc. Ab.* 20:5 and *Apoc. Ab.* 29:21 use the Slavonic word **жребий** for their designation of the "lot." Cf. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 82 and 102.

27. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1207–09.

28. Ibid., 75–79.

29. In 1QM 14:9 the terminology of inheritance is invoked again. There the remnant predestined to survive is called "the rem[nant of your inheritance] during the empire of Belial." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 137.

30. Ibid., 97.

31. Ibid., 573.

32. Ibid., 572.

33. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 158.

34. Ibid.

35. Orlov, "Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: The Scapegoat Ritual," in this volume.

36. See Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 31; D. C. Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism. Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* (ed. D. C. Harlow et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 302–30 at 310, 315.

37. See A. Orlov, "'The Gods of My Father Terah': Abraham the Iconoclast and the Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," *JSP* 18.1 (2008): 33–53.

38. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 15.

39. *Apoc. Ab.* 8:1: "The voice (**глас**) of the Mighty One came down from heaven in a stream of fire, saying and calling, 'Abraham, Abraham!'" Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 16; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 54.

40. See, for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 18:2 "And I heard a voice (**глас**) like the roaring of the sea, and it did not cease because of the fire." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 24; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 76.

41. Box reflects on the peculiarities of Azazel's true abode noting that "over against Jaoel stands Azazel, who here appears as the arch-fiend, and as active upon the earth (chap. xiii), though his real domain is in Hades, where he reigns as lord (chap. xxxi.)." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxvi.

42. Already George Box noticed the fiery nature of the demonological imagery found in the Slavonic apocalypse where Azazel is portrayed as the fire of Hell. Box reflects on this fiery theophany of Azazel arguing that "in fact, according to the peculiar representation of our Apocalypse, *Azazel is himself the fire of Hell* (cf. chap. xiv. 'Be thou the burning coal of the furnace of the earth,' and chap. xxxi. 'burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue')." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxvi.

43. See *Apoc. Ab.* 14:5 "Say to him, 'May you be the fire brand of the furnace of the earth! (главънею пещи земныя).'" Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 21; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 68.

44. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 22.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., 23.

47. Ibid., 24. See also *Apoc. Ab.* 18:13: "And above the Wheels there was the throne which I had seen. And it was covered with fire and the fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable light surrounded the fiery people." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 24.

48. Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxvi.

49. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 35; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 202.

50. Cf. *Apoc. Ab.* 31:2–3 "And I shall burn with fire those who mocked them ruling over them in this age and I shall commit those who have covered me with mockery to the reproach of the coming age." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 35.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., 26.

53. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 84.

54. Cf., for example, Horace Lunt's comment in Rubinkiewicz, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 1.699.

55. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 26.

56. Ibid., 27; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 88.

57. On the traditions of the serpentine Eve in Jewish and Christian literature, see S. Minov, "'Serpentine' Eve in Syriac Christian Literature of Late Antiquity," in *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic and Mysticism* (Ekstasis, 2; ed. D. Arbel and A. Orlov; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 92–114.

58. Thus, for example, reflecting on the imagery found in *Apoc. Ab.* 23:4–11, Daniel Harlow suggests that "the three of them appear in a *ménage à trois*, the man and woman entwined in an erotic embrace, the fallen angel in serpentine guise feeding them grapes." Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 320.

59. On various versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, see M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (EJL, 3; Atlanta: Scholars, 1992); M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

60. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 62E. The Armenian and Georgian versions of *LAE* 22:4 also support this tradition: "He set up his throne clos[e] to the Tree of Life" (Armenian); "and thrones were set up near the Tree of Life" (Georgian). *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 62E.

61. F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983–85), 1.114.

62. P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983–85), 1.259.

63. *The Zohar* (5 vols.; ed. H. Sperling and M. Simon; London and New York: Soncino, 1933), 2.355.

64. *The Babylonian Talmud* (ed. I. Epstein; London: Soncino, 1935–1952), 3.255.

65. Exod 37:9.

66. 1 Kgs 6:27; Ezek 1:9.

67. 2 Chr 3:12.

68. R. Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 67.

69. In later Jewish mysticism the imagery of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies was interpreted as the conjugal union between male and female. Thus, in *Zohar* III.59b the following tradition can be found: "R. Simeon was on the point of going to visit R. Pinchas ben Jair, along with his son R. Eleazar. When he saw them he exclaimed: 'A song of ascents; Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'" (Ps CXXXIII, 1). 'The expression "in unity," he said, refers to the Cherubim. When their faces were turned to one another, it was well with the world—"how good and how pleasant," but when the male turned his face from the female, it was ill with the world. Now, too, I see that you are come because the male is not abiding with the female. If you have come only for this, return, because I see that on this day face will once more be turned to face.'" Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 5.41. Another passage from *Zohar* III.59a also tells about the conjugal union of the cherubim: "Then the priest used to hear their voice in the sanctuary, and he put the incense in its place with all devotion in order that all might be blessed. R. Jose said: The word 'equity' (*mesharim*, lit. equities) in the above quoted verse indicates that the cherubim were male and female. R. Isaac said: From this we learn that where there is no union of male and female men are not worthy to behold the divine presence." Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 5.41.

70. Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*, 67.

71. *The Babylonian Talmud* (ed. I. Epstein; London: Soncino, 1935–1952), 3.257. *Zohar* III.67a, which describes the actions of the high priest on Yom Kippur, also attests to the same tradition when it portrays the "wrestle" of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies who are "beating their wings together" The passage then describes the high priest entering the Holy of Holies bringing the incense that "pacifies" or "reconciles" the "wrestling" of the angelic creatures. Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 5.60. See also: *Zohar* I.231a: "Now at sunset, the Cherubim which stood in that place used to strike their wings together and spread them out, and when the sound of the beating of their wings was heard above, those angels who chanted hymns in the night began to sing, in order that the glory of God might ascend from below on high. The striking of the Cherubim's wings itself intoned the psalm, 'Behold, bless ye the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord . . . lift up your hands to the sanctuary, etc.' (Ps. CXXXIII). This was the signal for the heavenly angels to commence." Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 2.340.

72. Elior, *The Three Temples*, 158. In relation to this union of the angelic creatures in the Holy of Holies, Elior further noticed that "the grammatical relationship between the Hebrew words for the Holy of Holies—*kodesh hakodashim*—and for betrothal—*kidushin*—suggests an ancient common ground of heavenly and earthly union." Elior, *The Three Temples*, 158.

73. Similar to the "Living Creatures of the Cherubim" the demon is also portrayed as a composite being which combines zoomorphic and human features—the body of a serpent with hands and feet like a man.

74. Cf. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 13: "Sammael was the great prince in heaven; the *Hayyot* had four wings and the Seraphim had six wings, and Sammael had twelve wings." *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (2nd ed.; tr. G. Friedlander; New York: Hermon Press, 1965), 92. Cf. also Georgian *LAE* 12:1 "My [Satan's] wings were more numerous than those of the Cherubim, and I concealed myself under them." A *Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 15–15E.

75. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 27.

76. Ibid., 24.

77. This imagery of Azazel posited between Adam and Eve might serve also as a profound anthropological symbol that possibly signifies the division of the protoplast. Azazel might be envisioned here as the primordial knife separating androgynous proto-humanity and dividing it on the male and female sides.

78. In this respect it is intriguing that several versions of the *Primary Adam Books* attest to a tradition about the "glory" of Satan that the antagonist had even before his demotion. Latin *LAE* 12:1: "[S]ince on account of you I was expelled and alienated from my glory, which I had in heaven in the midst of the angels." Armenian *LAE* 12:1: "[B]ecause of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the Cherubim who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me." Georgian *LAE* 12:1: "through you that I fell from my dwellings; (it was) by you that I was alienated from my own throne." A *Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 15–15E.

79. J. Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди* (София: Наука и Изкуство, 1970).

80. É. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (SVTP, 5; Leiden: Brill, 1981); F. I. Andersen, "Pseudepigrapha Studies in Bulgaria," *JSP* 1 (1987): 41–55.

81. On the Jewish mystical traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see also: Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxix–xxx; M. Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature* (JU, 8; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984), 251–53; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGAJU, 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 55–56; D. Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT, 2.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 551–77, esp. 565; Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 83ff.; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 28–33; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 86ff.; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 76–83; Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, 383–441, esp. 418; G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken, 1961), 52, 57–61, 72; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965), 23–24; idem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Quadrangle, 1974), 18.

Eschatological Yom Kippur in the Apocalypse of Abraham

1. Slav. **сапфиръ**. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 60.

2. Slav. **хрусолить**. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 60.

3. "[A]nd a turban (**кидарь**) on his head like the appearance of the bow in the clouds." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 19; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 60.

4. Thus, Daniel Harlow observes that "Yahoel's clothing . . . indicates that he is the heavenly high priest: he wears a 'turban on his head like the appearance of the bow in the clouds,' his garments are purple, and he has a golden staff in his hand (11:2). These elements evoke the wardrobe and accoutrement of Aaron (Exod 28; Num 17)." Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 313–14.

5. Jacob Milgrom observes that the high priest's head covering was a turban (מצנפת) and not מגבעות, the simpler headdresses of the ordinary priests (Exod 28:39–40). J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1016.

6. M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 62.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid. Yahoel's role as a heavenly high priest is also hinted at later in the text (*Apoc. Ab.* 10:9) through his liturgical office as choirmaster of the Living Creatures, which is reminiscent of the liturgical office of Enoch-Metatron in the Merkabah tradition. Cf. A. Orlov, "Celestial Choir-Master: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah Tradition," *JSP* 14.1 (2004): 3–24.

9. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 62.

10. "Greatest of his brothers and the beauty of his people was Simeon the son of Johanan the priest . . . how honorable was he as he gazed forth from the tent, and when he went forth from the house of the curtain; like a star of light from among clouds, and like the full moon in the days of festival; and like the sun shining resplendently on the king's Temple, and like the rainbow which appears in the cloud." C. N. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 41–42.

11. One of the extensive descriptions of ציץ is found in the *Book of Zohar*, which describes its unusual luminosity: "[Rabbi Simeon] began quoting: 'And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, [and wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of a signet: Holy to the Lord]' (Exod 39:30). Why was [this plate] called ציץ? It means 'being seen, to be looked at.' Since it was there to be seen by people, it was called ציץ. Whoever looked upon this plate was recognized by it. The letters of the holy name were inscribed and engraved upon this plate, and if the person who stood in front of it was righteous, the letters inscribed in the gold would stand out from bottom to top and would shine out from the engravings, and illuminate the person's face." *Zohar* II.217b. I. Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar. An*

Anthology of Texts (3 vols.; London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1989), 3.920–21.

12. Exod 39:30–31 "They made the rosette of the holy diadem of pure gold, and wrote on it an inscription, like the engraving of a signet, 'Holy to the Lord.' They tied to it a blue cord, to fasten it on the turban above."

13. *b. Yoma* 37a.

14. In this respect Himmelfarb observes that "the heaven of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is clearly a temple. Abraham sacrifices in order to ascend to heaven, then ascends by means of the sacrifice, and joins in the heavenly liturgy to protect himself during the ascent. . . . The depiction of heaven as a temple confirms the importance of the earthly temple. The prominence of the heavenly liturgy lends importance to the liturgy of words on earth, which at the time of the apocalypse provided a substitute for sacrifice, a substitute that in the apocalypse's view was to be temporary." Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 66.

15. On heavenly Temple traditions see M. Barker, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (London: SPCK, 1991); G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission* (NSBT, 17; Downer Grove: Intervarsity Press, 2004); J. J. Collins, "A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism," in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (ed. J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 43–57; A. DeConick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, G. S. Lewis; JSJSS, 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 308–41; B. Ego, *"Im Himmel wie auf Erden"* (WUNT, 2.34; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1989); R. Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and its Relation to Temple Traditions," *JSQ* 4 (1997): 217–67; idem, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004); C. H. T. Fletcher-Lewis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGAJU, 14; Leiden: Brill 1980); Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Response to Ezekiel's Vision*; idem, "Heavenly Ascension in Ancient Judaism: The Nature of the Experience," *SBLSP* 26 (1987): 218–31; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, "The Temple and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic," *VT* 20 (1970): 1–15; R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996); M. Himmelfarb, "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World," in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, 123–37; idem, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*; idem, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Book of the Watchers and Tours of Heaven," in *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible Through the Middle Ages* (ed. A. Green; New York: Crossroad, 1986), 145–65; idem, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 210–17; C. R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (CBQMS, 22; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989); J. D. Levenson, "The Temple and the World," *JR* 64 (1984): 275–98; idem, *Sinai and Zion* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), 111–84; idem, "The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience," in *Jewish*

Spirituality: From the Bible Through the Middle Ages, 32–59; G. W. MacRae, "Heavenly Temple and Eschatology in the Letter to the Hebrews," *Semeia* 12 (1978): 179–99; A. J. McNicol, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in Judaism: A Model for Tracing the Origin of the Apocalypse," *JRS* 13 (1987): 66–94; C. R. A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and Its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Jewish and Christian Sources," *SBLSP* 37 (1998): 400–31; idem, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," *JJS* 43 (1992): 1–31; R. Patai, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (New York: KTAV, 1967); C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982); idem, "The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature," *JSJ* 10 (1979): 137–54; A. F. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and Their Environment," *ANRW* 2.23.2 (1980): 1333–94.

16. Thus, for example, Harlow views the whole structure of the work as the composition which includes five sacerdotal steps or "movements": "Abraham's separation from false worship (chaps. 1–8); Abraham's preparation for true worship (chaps. 9–14); Abraham's ascent for true worship (chaps. 15–18); Abraham's vision of false worship (19:1–29:13); and his vision of true worship restored (29:14–31:12)." Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 305–306.

17. Alexander Kulik argues that the description of the sacrificial services of Terah's family found in the first chapter of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* "precisely follows the order of the Second Temple daily morning *tamid* service as it is described in the Mishna: first, priests cast lots (*Yoma* 2, 1–4; *Tamid* 1, 1–2; cf. also Luke 1:9), then they sacrifice in front of the sanctuary (*Tamid* 1–5), finishing their service inside (*Tamid* 6)." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 86.

18. Harlow's research helps to clarify the priestly status of Azazel by drawing on the structural parallelism between the high priestly profile of Yahoel in chs. 10–11 and Azazel's priestly profile in chs. 13–14. Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 310.

19. Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 58–60.

20. Ibid., 60.

21. David Halperin notes the Mosaic flavor of this passage, observing that "in preparation, Abraham must abstain from meat, wine, and oil (*Apocalypse of Abraham*, ch. 9). The immediate source of this last detail seems to be Dan 10:3. But, significantly, it recalls the abstentions of Moses and Elijah (Exod 34:28; Deut 9:9, 18; 1 Kgs 19:7–8); for like Moses and Elijah, Abraham is to have his experience on 'the Mount of God, the glorious Horeb.'" D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot. Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ, 16; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1988), 105.

22. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 17.

23. Ibid., 19.

24. Daniel Harlow observes that "the patriarch's fasting 'for forty days and nights' marks one of several places in the apocalypse where the author models Abraham's experience on Moses's (Exod 34:28).'" Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 312.

25. Martha Himmelfarb observes that "the account in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* implicitly compares Abraham's ascent to Moses' experience at Sinai. Thus,

for example, Abraham performs the sacrifice described in Gen 15 at Mount Horeb (the name for Mount Sinai in some biblical sources) after forty days of fasting in the wilderness. The exegetical occasion for the association of Gen 15 and Exod 19–20 is the manifestation of the presence of God in smoke and fire in both passages." Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 62. For the Mosaic background of the patriarch's actions in chapter twelve see also N. L. Calvert, *Abraham Traditions in Middle Jewish Literature: Implications for the Interpretation of Galatians and Romans* (PhD diss.; Sheffield University, 1993). Calvert observes that "the similarity between Abraham's actions in chapter twelve and those of Moses are striking. He first travels to the mountain Horeb, known also in the Old Testament as Mt. Sinai, which is called 'God's mountain, glorious Horeb' in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 12:3. Like Moses when he receives the law, Abraham spends forty days and nights on the mountain. Abraham is said neither to eat bread nor to drink water because his food 'was to see angel who was with me, and his discourse with me was my drink.' (*Apoc. Ab.* 12:1–2). Philo reflects a Jewish tradition of Moses's time on the mount, saying that Moses neglected all meat and drink for forty days, because he had more excellent food than that in the contemplations with which he was inspired from heaven (*De Vita Moses* II.69). Because Mt. Horeb and Mt. Sinai are names for the same mountain, Abraham receives his revelation from God in the same place that Moses received God's commandments. Finally, as the Lord 'was like a devouring fire on the top of the mountain' in the Exodus account, so the fire on top of Mt. Horeb burns the sacrifices over which Abraham and the angel ascend to heaven where God also appears as fire." Calvert, *Abraham Traditions in Middle Jewish Literature: Implications for the Interpretation of Galatians and Romans*, 274.

26. Box notes the connection of this idea of alternative nourishment with the Mosaic tradition found in Philo. He observes that "there is a close parallel to our text in Philo, *Life of Moses*, III. 1, where it is said of Moses in the Mount: 'he neglected all meat and drink for forty days together, evidently because he had more excellent food than that in those contemplations with which he was inspired from above from heaven.'" Box and Landsman, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 50.

27. David Halperin elaborates this tradition of the unusual nourishment of the patriarch and its connection to Moses's feeding on the *Shekhinah* attested in some later rabbinic accounts. He notes that "Moses also discovered that the divine presence is itself nourishment enough. That is why Exod 24:11 says that Moses and his companions beheld God, and ate and drank. This means, one rabbi explained, that the sight of God was food and drink for them; for Scripture also says, 'In the light of the King's face there is life.' . . . We may assume that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* had such midrashim in mind when he wrote that 'my food was to see the angel who was with me, and his speech—that was my drink.'" Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 111.

28. Christopher Begg observes that "making Mt. Horeb (*Apoc. Ab.* 12:3) the site of this incident (contrast *Jubilees*, where it takes place at Hebron) serves to associate Abraham with the figures of Moses and Elijah, both of whom received divine communications at that site." Begg, "Rereading of the 'Animal Rite' of Genesis 15 in Early Jewish Narratives," 44.

29. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 110.

30. On the Bar-Eshath episode see A. Orlov, "'The Gods of My Father Terah': Abraham the Iconoclast and the Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," *JSP* 18.1 (2008): 33–53; idem, "Arboreal Metaphors and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," *HTR* 102 (2009): 439–51.

31. *The Babylonian Talmud. Baba Bathra* (ed. I. Epstein; London: Soncino, 1938), 498.

32. *The Babylonian Talmud. Taanith* (ed. I. Epstein; London: Soncino, 1938), 161.

33. *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu: The Lore of the School of Elijah* (tr. W. G. Braude and I. J. Kapstein; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1981), 190.

34. As can be seen, some midrashic materials try to connect the establishment of the Day of Atonement festival with repentance of the Israelites after the idolatry of the Golden Calf. Later Jewish mysticism deepens this connection even further when it interprets the scapegoat ritual in light of the Golden Calf traditions. Thus, some Jewish texts connect the Golden Calf episode with the beginning of the enigmatic practice of assigning a share to "the other side" in sacrificial ritual. Isaiah Tishby refers to the tradition found in the *Book of Zohar* according to which "one of the consequences of Israel's sin with the Golden Calf was that 'the other side' was assigned a share in the sacrificial ritual." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 891. *Zohar* II.242b tells that "from that day the only thing they could do was to give a portion of everything to 'the other side' through the mystery of the sacrifices, the libation, and the whole-offerings." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 891. In the dualistic framework of the Zoharic tradition, the goat that is dispatched to Azazel comes to be understood as "the principal offering that is destined in its entirety for 'the other side.'" Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 821. Tishby notes that "in many passages [of the *Zohar*] this is described, following a late midrash, as a bribe that is offered to Samael. The *Zohar* quotes a number of parables to explain this matter of the bribe. One describes how a king wishes to rejoice with his son or his friends at a special meal. In order that the happy occasion should not be spoiled by the presence of ill-wishers and quarrelsome men, he orders a separate meal to be prepared for them. According to this parable the purpose of sending a goat to Azazel is to remove *sitra ahra* from the 'family circle' of Israel and the Holy One, blessed be He, on the Day of Atonement." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 892. These references to the later Jewish dualism connected with the Yom Kippur ritual are not completely irrelevant in light of the dualistic imagery of the two lots found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Students of the Slavonic apocalypse often try to interpret the dualistic developments found in the pseudepigraphon as later interpolations by the Bogomils. Yet, as we will see further in this investigation, the dualistic understanding of the Yom Kippur traditions found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the *Zohar* can be traced to the Second Temple traditions found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where the imagery of the two lots was put in a dualistic eschatological framework.

35. Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 364.

36. Ibid., 362.

37. *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu*, 385.

38. For the common anti-anthropomorphic tendencies of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the *Testament of Abraham*, see Orlov, "'The Gods of My Father

Terah': Abraham the Iconoclast and the Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 33–53; idem, "Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," *JBL* 127 (2008): 53–70.

39. For the expansion of Abraham's story in the *Book of Jubilees*, Josephus, Philo, and the later rabbinic materials (*Genesis Rabbah* 38:13, *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu* 2:25, *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 33), see: Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 88–94; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 43–49.

40. In this respect the authors of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon appear to be bound by the formative tradition manifested in the biblical account of Abraham's sacrifices found in Gen 15. Thus, Box notes that "the apocalyptic part of the book is based upon the story of Abraham's sacrifices and trance, as described in Gen. xv." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxiv.

41. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.87–88.

42. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893); D. Dimant, *The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Related Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (PhD diss.; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974) [in Hebrew]; idem, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective," *SBLSP* 17 (1978): 323–39; A. Geiger, "Zu den Apokryphen," *JZWL* 3 (1864): 196–204; Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 165–79; P. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in *1 Enoch* 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 195–233; Helm, "Azazel in Early Jewish Literature," 217–26; G. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 383–405; R. Rubinkiewicz, *Die Eschatologie von Henoch 9–11 und das Neue Testament* (tr. H. Ulrich; ÖBS, 6; Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984), 88–89; Stökl Ben Ezra, "Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic Imaginaire and the Roots of Jesus' High Priesthood," 349–66; idem, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, 85–88.

43. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 153.

44. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, 87.

45. Ibid., 87–88.

46. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 371–73. On the similar traditions see also 4Q181.

47. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 155.

48. On this text, see also L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ, 63; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997), 79–101.

49. 4Q203 7:1–7 reads: "[. . .] . . . [. . .] and [yo]ur power [. . .] Blank Th[en] 'Ohyah [said] to Hahy[ah, his brother . . .] Then he punished, and not us, [bu]t Aza[ze]l and made [him . . . the sons of] Watchers, the Giants; and n[o]ne of [their] be[loved] will be forgiven [. . .] . . . he has imprisoned us and has captured yo[u]." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 411.

50. *The Babylonian Talmud. Yoma* (ed. I. Epstein; London: Soncino, 1938), 316. On the afterlife of the Asael/Azazel tradition, see A. Y. Reed, "From Asael

and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch," *JSQ* 8 (2001): 105–36; idem, *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Reception-History of the Book of the Watchers in Judaism and Christianity* (PhD diss.; Princeton University, 2002); idem, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

51. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 31–33; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 50.

52. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," 1.685.

53. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–4 "And an impure bird flew down on the carcasses, and I drove it away. And the impure bird spoke to me." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

54. The reference to the impurity of the "bird" betrays the connection to the scapegoat figure who in the materials pertaining to the Yom Kippur ritual is understood as an impure entity, a sort of a "gatherer" of impurity that contaminates anyone who comes in contact with him, including his handlers, who must perform purification procedures after handling the goat. Jacob Milgrom observes that Azazel was "the vehicle to dispatch Israel's impurities and sins to wilderness/netherworld." Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1621.

55. On the pteromorphic angelological language of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see A. Orlov, "The Pteromorphic Angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," *CBQ* 72 (2009): 830–42.

56. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

57. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 158.

58. "Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity." *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–8.

59. "May you be the fire brand of the furnace of the earth!" *Apoc. Ab.* 14:5.

60. The apocalyptic story thus can be seen as a reenactment of the two spatial dynamics that are also reflected in the Yom Kippur ritual—the entrance into the upper realm and the exile into the underworld. In this respect Daniel Stökl notes that the Yom Kippur ritual "consisted of two antagonistic movements . . . centripetal and centrifugal: the entrance of the High Priest into the Holy of Holies and the expulsion of the scapegoat. As the first movement, the holiest person, the High Priest, entered the most sacred place, the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem Temple, burned incense, sprinkled blood and prayed in order to achieve atonement and purification for his people and the sacred institutions of the Jewish cult. As a second movement, the scapegoat burdened with the sins of the people was sent with an escort to the desert." Stökl, "The Biblical Yom Kippur, the Jewish Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Church Fathers," 494.

61. Lev 16:27: "The bull of the sin offering and the goat of the sin offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall be taken outside the camp; their skin and their flesh and their dung shall be consumed in fire."

62. Milgrom observes that "the blood of the slain goat may have been brought into the adytum in its entirety." Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1031.

63. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

64. Cf. *Apoc. Ab.* 15:3: "And he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flame"; *Apoc. Ab.* 17:1: And while he was still speaking, behold, a fire was coming toward us round about, and a sound was in the fire like a sound of many waters, like a sound of the sea in its uproar."

65. In this respect it should be noted that the entrance of a visionary into fire and his fiery transformation represent common apocalyptic motifs found in texts ranging from Dan 3 to *3 Enoch*, where Enoch undergoes the fiery metamorphosis that turns him into the supreme angel Metatron.

66. Paul Kobelski notes that each of these "lots" or "portions" of humanity is "characterized by one of the two spirits allotted by God—the spirit of truth and the spirit of perversity (1QS 3:18–21). Those belonging to the lot of God, of Melchizedek, of light, etc., are characterized by spirit of truth; they are the sons of righteousness whose leader is the Prince of Light (1QS 3:20). Those who belong to the lot of Belial, of darkness, etc., are characterized by the spirit of perversity; they are the sons of perversity whose leader is the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3:20–21)." P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*^{c} (CBQMS, 10; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 57.

67. אנש[י] גורל מל [בי] צדק. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1206.

68. אנשי גורל בליעל. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1132–33.

69. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 33; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 54.

70. The sacerdotal significance of the eschatological lots in the Slavonic apocalypse is underlined also by the fact that the Slavonic term жребий, used for the designation of the "lots" of humanity in the *Apoc. Ab.* 20:5 and *Apoc. Ab.* 29:21, is also used in *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2 for the designation of the priestly lot that Abraham shares in Terah's temple. Cf. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 36, 82, and 102.

71. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

72. Ibid., 25.

73. Cf. 1QM 13:5–6: "For they are the lot of darkness but the lot of God is for [everlast]ing light." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 135.

74. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 26–27.

75. Besides the mishnaic and talmudic materials, such topological arrangements of the lots on the left and right sides plays a significant role in later Jewish mysticism. Thus, for example, Box noticed that the *Apocalypse of Abraham*'s distinction between the left and the right side is reminiscent of some developments found in the *Book of Zohar*. He observes that "in the Jewish Kabbalah . . . 'right side' and 'left side' . . . become technical terms. In the emanistic system of the *Zohar*, the whole world is divided between 'right' and 'left,' where pure and impure powers respectively operate—on the right side the Holy One and His powers, on the left the serpent Samael and his powers." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xx.

76. H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 166.

77. *The Babylonian Talmud. Yoma* (ed. I. Epstein; London: Soncino, 1938), 184.

78. In light of the passage from *b. Yoma* which talks about the right hand of the high priest in relation to the goat for YHWH, it is also noteworthy that

in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* Yahoel, who, is portrayed as a high priest, is often depicted as putting his right hand on Abraham: *Apoc. Ab.* 10:4 "And the angel whom he sent to me in the likeness of a man came, and he took me by my right hand and stood me on my feet." *Apoc. Ab.* 15:2: "And the angel took me with his right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 17 and 22.

79. On Enoch's priestly roles, see M. Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira," in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (ed. J. Scott and P. Simpson–Housley; New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 63–78; idem, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," *SBLSP* 26 (1987): 210–17. See also: J. Maier, "Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apocalyptik und 'Gnosis,'" *Kairos* 5.1 (1963): 18–40, esp. 23; idem, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* (Kairos, 1; Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 127–28; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981): 575–600, esp. 576–82.; A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ, 107; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2005), 70–76.

80. On the priestly traditions related to the fallen Watchers, see D. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35.

81. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

82. C. Fletcher-Louis, "The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man," in *Auferstehung-Resurrection* (ed. F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck), 282.

83. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:9–10: "And because of you [there is] the wholly-evil spirit of the lie, and because of you [there are] wrath and trials on the generations of impious men. Since the Eternal Mighty God did not send the righteous, in their bodies, to be in your hand, in order to affirm through them the righteous life and the destruction of impiety." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

84. A. Kulik, *Apocalypse of Abraham. Towards the Lost Original* (PhD diss.; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2000), 90.

85. Stökl, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, 94.

86. Helm, "Azazel in Early Jewish Tradition," 223.

87. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 157.

88. Lev 16:21–22: "Then Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins, putting them on the head of the goat, and sending it away into the wilderness by means of someone designated for the task. The goat shall bear on itself all their iniquities to a barren region; and the goat shall be set free in the wilderness." On the "transference" function, see also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1041.

89. Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 314.

90. Harlow observes that "in chap. 12 Yahoel acts like a senior priest showing a junior priest the ropes; he instructs Abraham: 'Slaughter and cut all this, putting

together the two halves, one against the other. But do not cut the birds.'" Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 314.

91. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 21.

92. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 68.

93. Ibid., 68.

94. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 68.

95. Lev 16:22: "The goat shall bear on itself all their iniquities to a barren region; and the goat shall be set free in the wilderness."

96. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1045.

97. Kulik, *Apocalypse of Abraham. Towards the Lost Original*, 90.

98. Stökl, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, 94.

99. Harlow notes that "Yahoel teaches Abraham a kind of exorcistic spell to drive Azazel away." Harlow, "Idolatry and Alterity: Israel and the Nations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 315.

100. In this respect Jacob Milgrom reminds us that in the beginning, before becoming an annual festival, Yom Kippur was understood as an "emergency rite" for purgation of the sanctuary. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1070. James Scullion also observes that "the purpose of the feast is purgation. The sins of the Israelites, inadvertent and advertent, defile the land and the temple, and even the holy of holies. Leviticus anachronistically projects back into presettlement times a feast to purify the tent/temple and camp/city to protect them from the buildup of impurity." J. P. Scullion, *A Traditio-historical Study of the Day of Atonement* (PhD diss.; Catholic University of America, 1991), 83.

The Garment of Azazel in the Apocalypse of Abraham

1. Orlov, "Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: The Scapegoat Ritual," in this volume.

2. This peculiar dynamic of apocalyptic accounts is already present in early Enochic booklets, where the antagonists represented by the fallen angels assume a wide array of human roles on earth, while a human protagonist—Enoch—assumes their celestial and priestly offices in the heavenly realm.

3. One of the instances of such an encounter between exalted hero and demoted antagonists can be found in *2 Enoch*, where the seventh antediluvian patriarch meets, on his celestial journey, a group of incarcerated Watchers in the second heaven. On this tradition see A. Orlov "The Watchers of Satanael: The Fallen Angels Traditions in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*," in this volume.

4. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

5. See L. Ginzberg, "Apocalypse of Abraham," in: *Jewish Encyclopedia* (10 vols.; ed. I. Singer; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–06), 1.91–92 at 92.

6. Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 29. Later rabbinic traditions also hold that the glorious garments of Adam and Eve were made from the skin of the female Leviathan.

7. Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 144.

8. One such cryptic allusion to the protoplast's glorious garments can possibly be found in Ezek 28, which tells the story of a glorious angelic being, originally installed in the Garden of Eden but then forcefully expelled from this lofty location. The text describes the peculiar garment of this celestial being, decorated with precious stones and gold.

9. For discussions about the luminous body of Adam, see D. H. Aaron, "Shedding Light on God's Body in Rabbinic Midrashim: Reflections on the Theory of a Luminous Adam," *HTR* 90 (1997): 299–314; S. Brock, "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition," in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter* (ed. M. Schmidt; EB, 4; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1982), 11–40; A. D. DeConick and J. Fossum, "Stripped before God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas," *VC* 45 (1991): 123–50 at 141; N. A. Dahl and D. Hellholm, "Garment-Metaphors: The Old and the New Human Being," in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy: Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on his 70th Birthday* (ed. A. Yarbro Collins and M. M. Mitchell; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2001), 139–58; A. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Body as Image of God in Rabbinic Literature," *HTR* 87 (1994): 171–95; B. Murmelstein, "Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre," *WZKM* 35 (1928): 242–75 at 255; N. Rubin and A. Kosman, "The Clothing of the Primordial Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources," *HTR* 90 (1997): 155–74; J. Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," *HR* 5 (1965/1966): 217–38.

10. Aaron, "Shedding Light on God's Body," 303.

11. Cf., for example, Ezek 1; Ps 101:1; Job 40:10.

12. Brock, "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition," 14.

13. The Qumran materials appear to be aware of the motif of the glorious condition of Adam. Thus, several texts invoke the tradition of the glory of the protoplast: 1QS 4:15 22–23: "For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam (כבוד אדם)." 1QH 4:9 15; "giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam (כבוד אדם)." CD-A 3:20 "Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam (כבוד אדם) is for them." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 78–79, 148–49, 554–55.

14. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 58E. Cf. also the Armenian *LAE* 10:1 "When Eve came forth from the water, her flesh was like withered grass, for her flesh had been changed from the water, but the form of her glory remained brilliant." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 12E. On the Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books*, see also M. E. Stone, *The Penitence of Adam* (CSCO, 429–30; Louvain: Peeters, 1981); idem, *Texts and Concordances of the Armenian Adam Literature* (EJL, 12; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 70–81.

15. Cf. also the Armenian *LAE* [44]21:2–5: "Then Adam came to me with his great glory . . . and I gave him to eat of the fruit, and I made him like me." Later rabbinic traditions also speak about the lost of Adam's glory after the Fall. *Genesis Rabbah* 12.6 contains the following elaboration: "[T]he six things . . . were taken away from Adam, viz. his lustre, his immortality . . . Adam did not retain his glory for a night . . . He deprived him of his splendor and expelled him from

the Garden of Eden." *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols.; ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon; London: Soncino, 1939), 1.91.

16. Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp noted that in *GLAE* the "promise of the eschatological restoration to glory does not postpone the divine grace to the end of times. Immediately after Adam's death, the angels and the sun and the moon offer incenses and prayers to God, that he may have mercy on Adam (33.4–36.1). Their efforts succeed, and trumpets announce the favourable outcome of God's gracious verdict on Adam (37.1–2). A Seraph washes Adam in the Acherusian lake (37.3), a ritual known from Greek mythology as the post mortem cleansing from guilt of the dead. Then God hands him over to Michael, who is to bring Adam to the third heaven, where he is to remain until the day of visitation (37.4–6)." M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 51.

17. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 86E-87E. Cf. also Georgian version: "They seized three folded shrouds of [cloth] and God told Michael and Gabriel, 'Unfold these shrouds and envelop Adam's body and take the ointment from the olive tree and pour it upon him.' And three angels dressed him (in it) and when they had dressed Adam's body (in it). . . ." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 87E.

18. In *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 3:21, the following tradition can be found: "And the Lord God made garments of glory for Adam and for his wife from the skin which the serpent had cast off (to be worn) on the skin of their (garments of) fingernails of which they had been stripped, and he clothed them." Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 29. *Tg. Neof.* on Gen 3:21 unveils a similar tradition: "And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife *garments of glory* (לבושין דאוקר), for the skin of their flesh, and he clothed them." McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, 62–63; A. Díez Macho, *Neophiti 1: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968), 1.19. The *Frg. Tg.* on Gen 3:21 also uses the imagery of the glorious garments: "And He made: And the *memra* of the Lord God created for Adam and his wife *precious garments* (לבושין דיקר) [for] the skin of their flesh, and He clothed them." Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources*, 1.46; 2.7.

19. *Tg. Onq.* on Gen 3:21 reads: "And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife *garments of honor for the skin of their flesh* (לבושין דיקר על משך בסרהון), and He clothed them." Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, 46; *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts* (5 vols.; ed. A. Sperber; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 1.5.

20. Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.171.

21. Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 98. Other midrashic passages also speak about the luminosity of Adam's body. Thus, for example, in *Leviticus Rabbah* 20.2 the following tradition is found: "Resh Lakish, in the name of R. Simeon the son of Menasya, said: The apple of Adam's heel outshone the globe of the sun; how much more so the brightness of his face!" Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 4.252. *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 8:1 reads: "R. Levi said: 'The ball of Adam's heel outshone the sun . . . so was it not right that the ball of his heel should outshine the sun, and

how much more so the beauty of his face!' " Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 8.213–14. A similar tradition is also found in *b. Baba Batra* 58a.

22. Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 1.136.

23. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*. Second Revised Edition, 15E–18E.

24. Ibid. On the Latin version of the *Primary Adam Books*, see also W. Meyer, "Vita Adae et Evae," *ABAW* 14 (1878): 185–250.

25. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 18–18E.

26. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

27. Orlov, "Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: The Scapegoat Ritual," in this volume.

28. On the question of rivalry between various priestly clans in the Second Temple period, see G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism. Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); idem, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

29. For the identification of the Garden of Eden with the macrocosmic Temple in Qumran literature and Jewish Merkabah mysticism, see J. R. Davila, "The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 457–78.

30. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 89.

31. Ibid.

32. Similarly in some rabbinic materials the garments of the protoplasts were understood as the priestly garments. Thus, Gary Anderson draws our attention to a passage from *Midrash Abkir* where the attires of the protoplast is envisioned as the priestly robes: "What was written above?— 'the Lord God made for Adam . . . ' This teaches that the Holy One Blessed Be He had made for him priestly garments just as it says in the text, 'Behold the man adorned in linen . . .' (Dan 10:5) [This is similar] to a king who loved his slave and made for him a tunic of gold. [When] he transgressed [the king] took it from him and he put on chains. So the Holy One Blessed be He, made for him priestly garments. When he sinned he removed them from him and he put on fig leaves. As scripture says, 'They sewed fig-leaves. . . . ' " G. Anderson, "The Punishment of Adam and Eve in the Life of Adam and Eve," in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (ed. G. Anderson et al.; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000), 57–82 at 66.

33. "And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame." Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 90.

34. Ibid.

35. This tradition of the priestly garments of Adam transferred to protological and Israelite heroes has not been forgotten in the later midrashim. Thus *Numbers Rabbah* 4.8 reads: "Adam was the world's firstborn. When he offered his sacrifice, as it says: And it pleased the Lord better than a bullock that hath horns and hoofs (Ps. LXIX, 32)—he donned high priestly garments; as it says: And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skin, and clothed them (Gen. III, 21). They were robes of honor which subsequent firstborn used. When Adam died he transmitted them to Seth. Seth transmitted them to Methusaleh. When Methusaleh

died he transmitted them to Noah." Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 5.101. A similar tradition is also found in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 24: "Rabbi Jehudah said: The coats which the Holy One, blessed be He, made for Adam and his wife, were with Noah in the ark." Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 175.

36. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 90.

37. *Philo* (10 vols.; trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929–1964), 5.165.

38. Later rabbinic authors also take the linen garments of the high priest to signal a transition from a human to an angelic nature. The change of the garment of the High Priest to white linen often signifies a prerequisite for the adept's entrance into heaven. The "celestial" nature of the Yom Kippur ritual looms large, e.g., in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 46: "He said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! Thou hast one people like the ministering angels who are in heaven. Just as the ministering angels have bare feet, so have the Israelites bare feet on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels have neither food nor drink, so the Israelite have neither food or drink on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels have no joints, in like wise the Israelites stand upon their feet. Just as the ministering angels have peace obtaining amongst them, so the Israelites have peace obtaining amongst them on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels are innocent of all sin on the Day of Atonement, so are the Israelites innocent of all sin on the Day of Atonement." Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 364.

39. Colson and Whitaker, *Philo*, 7.149.

40. Cf. also *Her.* 16 §84.

41. Colson and Whitaker, *Philo*, 5.529.

42. Ibid., 5.547.

43. Later rabbinic traditions also envision the high priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies as his entrance into heaven. Jacob Milgrom notes that white linen as the garment of a high priest was understood in some traditions as an angelic garment. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1016. He refers to the passage found in *y. Yoma*, which compares the action of the high priest on Yom Kippur with the ministration of a celestial being: "like the ministration on high so was the ministration below."

44. One of the depictions of fiery annihilation is attested in *3 Enoch*.

45. On the priestly traditions related to the fallen Watchers, see Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," 115–35.

46. In this respect Daniel Stökl rightly observes that the Yom Kippur ritual "consisted of two antagonistic movements . . . centripetal and centrifugal: the entrance of the High Priest into the Holy of Holies and the expulsion of the scapegoat." Stökl, "The Biblical Yom Kippur, the Jewish Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Church Fathers," 494.

47. Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira," 63–78; idem, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 210–17. See also H. S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT, 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 101–102; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 81.

48. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.50–52, 2.98–99.

49. Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 210.

50. David Halperin's research also stresses the "apocalyptic" priestly function of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers*. He observes that "Daniel and Enoch share an image, perhaps drawn from the hymnic tradition of merkabah exegesis (think of the Angelic liturgy), of God surrounded by multitudes of angels. But, in the Holy of Holies, God sits alone. . . . The angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the celestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings." Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 81–82.

51. Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 213.

52. Enoch's sacerdotal duties in the *Book of the Watchers* also involve his intercession and transmission of the judgment against Asael. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that "Enoch's intercession and transmission of the judgment against Asael is thoroughly priestly and related closely to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement whose ministry involves the sending of a scapegoat into the wilderness to Azazel (Lev 16)." C. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam. Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002). 40.

53. Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 212.

54. A sacerdotal dimension in relation to the change of garments might also be present in *Joseph and Aseneth*. See *Jos. Asen.* 13:3, 14:12, 15:10.

55. H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary* (SVTP, 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 149.

56. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.138.

57. Ibid., 1.114.

58. Ibid., 1.117.

59. Armenian version of the *LAE* 40:2 in: *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 86E–87E.

60. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 40.

61. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 23–24.

62. Thus, Moshe Idel suggests that Enoch's luminous metamorphosis, attested in *2 En.* 22, might also belong to the same tradition that views Enoch as the one who regained Adam's lost status and luminosity. M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Imm* 24/25 (1990): 220–40 at 224.

63. Marc Philonenko, analyzing the symmetrical nature of the positions of Yahoel and Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, notes the peculiarity of the interaction between these two spirits, one good and one malevolent. He notices that their contention does not occur directly but rather through a medium of a human being—Abraham. In the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, Abraham thus becomes a place of the battle between two spiritual forces. Philonenko sees in such struggle a peculiar mold of the dualism present also in a Qumran material known to scholars as the *Instruction on the Two Spirits* (1QS 3:13–4:26), where the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness are fighting in the heart of man. See Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 31–32.

64. The unique position of Abraham, standing between Azazel and the Name of God (Yahoel), evokes the memory of the Yom Kippur ritual, where the high priest

stood between two earthly counterparts of these celestial realities—the scapegoat and the goat for the Name of the Lord.

65. See Rubinkiewitz, *Die Eschatologie von Henoch 9–11 und das Neue Testament*, 101–102, 110–13; Stökl, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity*, 94.

66. Stökl, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity*, 94.

67. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

68. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 111.

69. The previous studies of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* suggested that the seer's entrance into the celestial realm reveals the cultic dimension and is envisioned as a visitation of the heavenly temple. See Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 66.

70. Yet the repeated references to a seer's encounter with fire appear to be significant for the authors of the pseudepigraphon, who envision fire as a theophanic substance surrounding the very presence of the deity. Thus, later in the text, Abraham's transition into the divine realm is described as his entering into the fire. Cf., for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 15:3 "And he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flame"; *Apoc. Ab.* 17:1: "And while he was still speaking, behold, a fire was coming toward us round about, and a sound was in the fire like a sound of many waters, like a sound of the sea in its uproar." Could the promise of a celestial garment to the patriarch in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* signify here, as in many other apocalyptic accounts, that his "mortal" body must be "altered" in the fiery metamorphosis?

71. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 64.

72. Scholars previously noted some connections with Mesopotamian counterparts, where celestial beings lose garments of light during their descent into lower realms. Thus, Sebastian Brock points to the tradition about Ishtar's "robe of splendor," the garment the goddess lost at the seventh gate during her descent to the underworld. Brock, *Clothing Metaphors*, 14.

73. On transformational mysticism see C. R. A. Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," *JJS* 43 (1992): 1–31.

74. On the pteromorphic angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Orlov, "The Pteromorphic Angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 830–42.

75. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 27.

76. In light of the uncertainty of the date of the traditions contained in the *Primary Adam Books*, it is often quite difficult to establish the priority of these mutual influences.

77. The tradition of Satan's use of an angelic form for the deception of the protoplasts is also attested in various versions of the so-called *Cheirograph of Adam*. On these developments, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 17, 18, 65, 75, 84, 88.

78. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 51E. The Georgian version offers a very similar tradition: "Then the devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he praised the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the enclosure to hear the praises. I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible for he had gone forth to bring the serpent." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 51E. The Greek version also attests the angelic transformation, but does not mention Satan's transition into an invisible condition: "And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to worship God,

then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And he bent over the wall and I saw him, like an angel. And he said to me: 'Are you Eve?' And I said to him, 'I am.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 51E–52E. The Slavonic *Vita* also lacks a motif of invisibility, but adds a new intriguing detail by emphasizing the luminous nature of Satan's angelic form: "The serpent believed that it was an angel, and came to me. And the devil had changed to the form of an angel and came here with radiance, singing an angel's song, just like an angel, and said to me: 'Do you eat from everything in Paradise?' And at that time I took him for an angel, because he had come from Adam's side, so I said to him, 'From one tree the Lord commanded us not to eat, the one which stands in the middle of Paradise.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 51E–53E.

79. Michael Stone's research underlines the temporary dimension of Satan's acquisition of the angelic form. He notes that "Satan, who once had heavenly glory and luminosity, put it back temporarily in order to deceive Eve and Adam. . . . Provided with the σχῆμα "form" of an angel, he becomes externally angelic." Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 19.

80. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 11E. The tradition about Satan's transformation into an angel is also supported by the Greek, Slavonic, and Latin versions. Greek: "But the Devil, not finding a place with respect to Adam, came to the Tigris river to me. And assuming the form of an angel he stood before me." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 11E. Slavonic: "The devil came to me in the form and radiance of an angel, there where I stood in the water, letting passionate tears fall to the ground, he said to me, 'Come forth, Eve, out of the water, God has heard your prayer and also we angels, we who prayed for you, and the Lord has sent me to you, that your should emerge from this water.' And I discerned that he was the devil, and answered him nothing at all. But when after forty days, Adam emerged from the Jordan, he noticed the footprints of the devil and was very afraid lest the devil had duped me. But when he saw me standing in the water, he was very happy. And he took me and led me out of the water." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 11E–13E. Latin: "Eighteen days passed. Then Satan grew angry and transfigured himself into the brilliance of an angel and went off to the Tigris River to Eve. He found her weeping, and then, the Devil himself, as if mourning with her began to weep and said to her: 'Come out of the water and rest and weep no longer. Cease now from your sadness and lamenting. Why are you uneasy, you and your husband Adam?'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 11E.

81. See *Apoc. Ab.* 23. Here, similarly to the "Living Creatures of the Cherubim," the demon is also portrayed as a composite being combining zoomorphic and human features: the body of a serpent with the hands and feet of a man.

82. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 27.

83. Ibid., 24.

84. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 11E.

85. The various versions of the *Primary Adam Books* clearly envision the serpent as an animal or a "wild beast." See Armenian, Georgian, and Greek versions of the *Primary Adam Books* 16:2. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 49E.

86. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 50E–52E. The tradition of Satan's metamorphosis into the "living" form of the serpent is also present in the Georgian

version: "And the serpent told him, 'How can we have them excluded?' The devil replied and told the serpent, 'Be a sheath for me and I will speak to the woman through your mouth a word by which we will trick (them).' And the two of them came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the paradise at the time where the angels had ascended to bow down to God. Then the devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he praised the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the enclosure to hear the praises. I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible for he had gone forth to bring the serpent. And he told him, 'Arise and come and I will be with you and I will speak though your mouth that which it is proper for you to say.' He took on the form of the serpent (to go) close to the wall of paradise and the devil slipped inside the serpent and he allowed his head to hang on the wall of paradise. He cried out and said, 'Shame on you, woman, you who are in the paradise of Delight (and) who are blind! Come to me and I will tell you a certain secret word.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 50E–52E.

87. Pseudepigraphic and rabbinic accounts depict this process of "possession" of a living form as Satan's "riding" of the serpent. This tradition will be explored in detail later in our study.

88. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 41E–43E.

89. Anderson, "The Penitence Narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve," 34.

90. It appears that the Slavonic version underlines the cosmic profile of the beast. Thus, Gary Anderson draws attention to the fact that in the Slavonic version "the beast declares his intention not simply to harm Seth, but to destroy Eve and all her children (11–15)." Anderson, "The Penitence Narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve," 35. The cosmic profile of the final judgment of the beast attested in several versions is also noteworthy, as it best suits the final destiny of the Adversary rather than the destiny of an animal.

91. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 41E–43E.

92. Michael Stone notes that in the *Primary Adam Books* Satan becomes invisible on several occasions. He observes that "at various junctures of the story in the primary Adam books, Satan becomes invisible. The assumed form is not permanent. In the *Apocalypse of Moses* 20:3, the Greek text relates that when Satan had succeeded in seducing Eve and Adam, he descended from the tree (here as the snake) καὶ ἄφανατος ἐγένετο, 'and vanished' (literally: 'became invisible'). When Adam in the river recognizes Satan, he asked him why he was so hostile. Satan responded with the story of his fall (12:1–17:3). At the end of the conversation between Adam and Satan, we read *et statim non apparuit diabolus ei*, 'immediately the devil was not visible to him' (Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* 17:2)." Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 19.

93. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 51E–53E.

94. Ibid.

95. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 20.

96. It is not entirely clear if Eve too serves as the living form of Satan in the *Primary Adam Books*. De Jonge and Tromp bring attention to the fact that, like the serpent, Eve also serves as the "instrument" of Satan. They note that "the character of Eve is comparable to that of the serpent. Both are instruments of the

devil (16.5, 21.3), who uses them to reach his eventual goal: to have Adam evicted from Paradise (16.3)." De Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature*, 54. Yet, unlike in the case of the serpent, where Satan unambiguously enters the body of the creature, Satan's participation in the living form of Eve is less clear and more enigmatic. Thus, the Georgian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 10:1–2 relates: "And Eve came up out of the water and her flesh was withered like rotten vegetables because of the coldness of the water. *All the form of her beauty had been destroyed*. And when she had come up out of the water, she fell on the face of the earth in great weakness and remained lying (on the ground) without moving for two days. And after two days she arose and *the devil led her to where Adam was*." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 12E. One of the important details here is that Eve is depicted as being "led" by Satan. It looks as though the Adversary "animates" her body, taking her to Adam. The second intriguing detail of this passage is that, after succumbing to Satan, Eve's form was changed. Although the Armenian version says that "the form of her glory remained brilliant," scholars believe that the Georgian version preserved the original reading. In this respect, Gary Anderson notes that "[a]s Eve comes out of the water, having succumbed a second time to the temptation of the devil, her flesh is transformed for the worse: 'All the form of her beauty had been destroyed.'" Anderson, "Punishment of Adam and Eve in the Life of Adam and Eve," 79.

97. Stone, "'Be You a Lyre for Me': Identity or Manipulation in Eden," 96.

98. "[The Serpent's] appearance was something like that of the camel and he (Sammael) rode upon it." Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 92.

99. Stone, "'Be You a Lyre for Me': Identity or Manipulation in Eden," 96.

100. Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 1.133–34.

101. Ibid., 2.89–90.

102. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 87–88.

103. Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 153.

104. Cf. *1 En.* 86:1–4: "And again I looked with my eyes as I was sleeping, and I saw heaven above, and behold, a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured amongst those bulls. . . . And again I saw in the vision and I looked at heaven, and behold, I saw many stars, how they came down and were thrown down from heaven to that first star, and amongst those heifers and bulls; they were with them, pasturing amongst them. And I looked at them and saw and behold, all of them let out their private parts like horses and began to mount the cows of the bulls, and they all became pregnant and bore elephants and camels and asses." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.196–97.

105. Cf. *1 En.* 89:1: "He was born a bull, but became a man, and built for himself a large vessel and dwelt on it." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.199.

106. Cf. *1 En.* 89:36: "And I looked there at the vision until that sheep became a man, and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and made all the sheep stand in that house." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.206.

107. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.87–88.

108. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 31–33; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 50.

109. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," 1.685.

110. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–4: "And an impure bird flew down on the carcasses, and I drove it away. And the impure bird spoke to me." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

111. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

112. Scholars have also pointed out that some technical terminology found in chapter 13 appears to be connected with Yom Kippur terminology. Thus, Daniel Stökl draws attention to the expression about "sending" things to Azazel in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:10, which Alexander Kulik traces to the Greek term ἀποστέλλω or Hebrew שלח. Kulik, *Apocalypse of Abraham. Towards the Lost Original*, 90. Stökl proposes that this terminology "might allude to the sending out of the scapegoat." Stökl, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, 94.

113. Robert Helm sees in this utterance a connection to the Yom Kippur settings by proposing that "the transference of Abraham's corruption to Azazel may be a veiled reference to the scapegoat rite." Helm, "Azazel in Early Jewish Tradition," 223. Similarly, Lester Grabbe argues that the phrasing in the statement that "Abraham's corruption has 'gone over to' Azazel suggest[s] an act of atonement." Grabbe, "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," 157.

114. Fletcher-Louis, "The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man," 282.

115. Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 821.

The Watchers of Satanael

1. Slav. Григори(ы) (Gk. ἐγρήγοροι). M.I. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе. Выпуск третий. VII. Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного. Тексты, латинский перевод и исследование. Посмертный труд автора приготовил к изданию М. Сперанский," *Чтения в Обществе Истории и Древностей Российских* 4 (1910) 1–167 at 16.

2. Slav. Сатанаил. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16. In the Slavonic pseudepigrapha the theophoric ending "el" in the name Satanael is replaced by ending "il"—Satanail.

3. On the Satanael/Satanail traditions in Greek and Slavic milieus see: O. Afinogenova, "Греческий вариант апокрифа о борьбе архангела Михаила и Сатанаила," *Scripta & E-scripta* 3.4 (2005/2006): 329–48; Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost His '-el,'" 303–309; J. Ivanov, *Старобългарски разкази. Текстове, новобългарски преводъ и бележки* (София: Придворна Печатница, 1935), 18–25; A. Miltenova, "Апокрифът за борбата на архангел Михаил със Сатанаил в две редакции," *Старобългарска литература* 9 (1981): 98–113; idem, "Неизвестна редакция на апокрифа за борбата на архангел Михаил със Сатанаил," in *Литературознание и фолклористика. Сборник в чест на акад. Петър Динеков* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1983), 121–27; idem, "Слово на Йоан Златоуст за това как Михаил победи Сатанаил," in *Българската литература и книжнина през XIII в.* (ed. I. Bozhilov

et al.; София: Български Писател, 1987), 150–56; D. Petkanova, "Слово за лъжливия Антихрист, безбожен Сатанаил, как го плени Архангел Михаил," in *Апокрифи* (Стара българска литература, 1; София: Български Писател, 1981), 41–48, 349–50; R. Stichel, "Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apokalypse," in *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien* (ed. R. Lauer and P. Schreiner; AAWG, 177; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 116–28.

4. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–52; idem, "'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," in A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (JSJSS, 114; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 149–74; idem, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Böttrich," in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 239–68.

5. *2 En.* 30:8–32:2, 33:10, 41:1, 42:5, 44:1, 58:1–3, 71:28.

6. Kelley Coblentz Bautch notes that "the portrayal of the [first] couple is softened in the Book of the Watchers; like 'the holy ones' mentioned in 1 En 32:3, they eat from the tree and are made wise (cf. Gen 3:6). No references are made to the serpent, deception, the reproach of God, and additional punishments that figure prominently in the Genesis account. In a text concerned with judgment and accountability, Adam and Eve do not appear as actors in the eschatological drama . . . the Animal Apocalypse from the Book of Dream Visions seems even more favorable in its depiction of the first couple. The Animal Apocalypse opts to recast exclusively events familiar from Gen 2 and 4. . . . [it] does not offer a recitation of the fall in the garden. There is no tree, forbidden or otherwise, no illicit gain of knowledge, no expulsion from Eden, and no recapitulation of any part of Gen 3." Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic Traditions in the Parables? A Query on *1 Enoch* 69:6," 353–54.

7. In this respect Coblentz Bautch observes that "discussion of the Enochic corpus frequently takes up the literature's distinctive view of evil. As is commonly asserted, Enochic texts posit that evil originates with the rebellious watchers who descend to earth: their prohibited union with women and teaching of forbidden arts lead to the contamination of the human sphere (for example, *1 En.* 6–11). This observation has led contemporary scholars to delineate two contrasting trends within Second Temple Judaism: one rooted in early Enochic texts like the *Book of the Watchers* where evil develops as a result of the angels' sin, and the other that understands sin to be the consequence of human failings (e.g., Gen 3)." Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic Traditions in the Parables? A Query on 1 Enoch 69:6," 354–55. On the subject of two mythologies of evil, see also Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-ʿAza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming); Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 144–49.

8. In his forthcoming research on the early Jewish mythologies of evil, John Reeves provides a helpful description of the main tenets of the Enochic paradigm of the origin of evil (or what he calls the "Enochic Template"). According to this template: "evil first enters the created world through the voluntary descent and subsequent corruption of a group of angels known as the Watchers. Their sexual contact with human women renders them odious to God and their former angelic

colleagues in heaven; moreover, they also betray certain divine secrets to their lovers and families. The offspring of the Watchers and mortal women, an illegitimately conceived race of bloodthirsty 'giants,' wreak havoc on earth and force God to intervene forcefully with the universal Flood. The corrupt angels are captured and imprisoned, their monstrous children are slain, and humanity is renewed through the family of Noah. Noticeably absent from this particular scheme are references to Adam and Eve, the garden of Eden, or the serpent." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-ʿAza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

9. Reeves provides the description of the main features of what he called the "Adamic Template," noticing the following crucial points: "(1) God resolves to create the first human being, Adam; (2) after Adam's creation, all the angels in heaven are bidden to worship him; (3) a small group of angels led by Satan refuse to do so; (4) as a result, this group is forcibly expelled from heaven to earth; and (5) in order to exact revenge, these angels plot to lead Adam and subsequent generations of humans astray." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-ʿAza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

10. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–14.

11. On the tradition of Enoch as the second Adam, see P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 102–104; Idel, "Enoch Is Metatron," 220–40.

12. Reeves detects the presence of the so-called mixed template that combines features of Adamic and Enochic "mythologies of evil" already in the *Book of Jubilees*. Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-ʿAza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

13. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.112–14. The shorter recension of *2 En.* 7 has the following form: "And those men took me up to the second heaven. And they set me down on the second heaven. And they showed me prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment. And there I saw the condemned angels, weeping. And I said to the men who were with me, 'Why are they tormented?' The men answered me, 'They are evil rebels against the Lord, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, but they consulted their own will.' And I felt sorry for them. The angels bowed down to me. They said, 'Man of God, please pray for us to the Lord!' And I answered them and said, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? And who knows where I am going or what will confront me? Or who will pray for me?'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.113–15.

14. Arie Rubinstein observes that "there is evidence that the Slavonic Enoch is dependent on some features which are known only from the Ethiopic Enoch only. There can be little doubt that the Slavonic Enoch has a good deal in common with the Ethiopic Enoch, though the differences between the two are no less striking." A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 13 (1962): 1–21 at 6.

15. J. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. C. Reeves; EJL, 6; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 185.

16. J. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: South Carolina, 1995), 159.

17. The longer recension of *2 En.* 18:4 reads: "And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

18. ". . . identity [of the imprisoned angels] as rebellious Watchers is further underscored by the petition they press upon Enoch." Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," 185.

19. This connection was also mentioned by Robert Henry Charles who noticed that "the angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in *1 En.* xiii.4," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2.433, note 4.

20. "And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.93.

21. "And then I wrote out the record of their petition and their supplication in regard to their spirits and the deeds of each one of them, and in regard to what they asked, (namely) that they should obtain absolution and forbearance. And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.93–94.

22. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

23. George Nickelsburg notices that the division of the fallen angels into two groups is also reminiscent of some early Enochic developments attested already in *1 Enoch*. He observes that "in his description of the rebel angels the seer distinguishes between two groups, as does *1 Enoch.*: the *egregoroi* ('watchers'), who sinned with the women (*2 En.* 18); and their 'brethren' (18:7), called 'apostates' (chap. 7), who may correspond to the angels as revealers." G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 222.

24. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 6.

25. Ibid., 16.

26. "their prince = Satanail, xviii, 3," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2.433, note 3.

27. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 221–22.

28. The motif of the prostration of angelic beings, including the Watchers, before the seventh antediluvian hero is unknown in the early Enochic circle reflected in *1 Enoch*. A possible reference to another tradition of prostration—the theme of the Giants bowing down before the patriarch—might be reflected in the *Book of Giants* [4Q203 *Frag.* 4:6]: "they bowed down and wept in front [of Enoch . . .]." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 409. Although the passage is extant in a very fragmentary form and the name of Enoch is not mentioned, Józef Tadeusz Milik, Siegbert Uhlig, and Florentino García Martínez have suggested that the figure before whom the Giants prostrate themselves is none other than Enoch himself. For the discussion of this tradition see L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ, 63; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997), 75–76.

29. The account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels is found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13–15.

30. The Slavonic version of *3 Bar.* 4; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4, Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*, *Cave of Treasures* 2:10–24, and *Qur'an* 2:31–39, 7:11–18, 15:31–48, 17:61–65, 18:50, 20:116–123, 38:71–85.

31. Annette Reed suggested that the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael is "reflecting direct knowledge of the account of the fall of the angels in *1 En.* 6–11." Reed, "From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch," 110.

32. On the tradition of the veneration of humanity in rabbinic literature see A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945): 371–91; B. Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam dans la littérature juive rabbinique des trois premiers siècles après J.-C.," *RSR* 49 (1975): 173–85; J. Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (2 vols; eds. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996), 1.529–39; G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *ErJb* 22 (1953): 195–234; idem, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980): 1–13; A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA, 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 108–15.

33. Commenting on *3 En.* 4, Gary Anderson suggests that if "we remove those layers of the tradition that are clearly secondary . . . we are left with a story that is almost identical to the analog we have traced in the Adam and Eve literature." Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 107. He further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as the "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is pertinent since the reason *3 Enoch* supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straightforward: "Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years—therefore they call me 'Youth.'" Anderson proposes that the title might have Adamic origins since the explanation for the epithet "Youth" recalls the reason for the angelic refusal to worship Adam in the *Vita* on the basis of his inferiority to them by way of his age. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 108.

34. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.136, 1.138.

35. M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (ed. G. Anderson, M. Stone, and J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 47–48.

36. W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896), 28.

37. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," 47–48.

38. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130–32. The shorter recension of *2 En.* 18 has the following form: "And the men picked me up from there and carried me away to the fifth heaven. And I saw there many armies and Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths. . . . And there was no liturgy taking place in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, 'For what reason are they so dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And why is there no liturgy in this heaven?' And the men

answered me, 'These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth, and they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Hermon, to defile themselves with human wives. And, when they defile themselves, the Lord condemned them. And these ones mourn for their brothers and for the outrage which has happened.' But I, I said to the Grigori, 'I, I have seen your brothers and I have understood their accomplishments and I knew their prayers; and I have prayed for them. And now the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended. But why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up the former liturgy. Perform the liturgy in the name of fire, lest you annoy the Lord your God (so that) he throws you down from this place.' And they heeded the earnestness of my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in heaven. And behold, while I was standing, they sounded with 4 trumpets in unison, and the Grigori began to perform the liturgy as with one voice. And their voices rose up into the Lord's presence." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.131–33.

39. Robert Henry Charles was the first scholar who clarified the terminological background of the Slavonic word "*Grigori*." He observed that "these are the Watchers, the ἐγρήγοροι, or עירים, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. Vi–xvi, xix, lxxxvi." *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* 2.439.

40. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 159. It is intriguing that the authors of the Slavonic translation of *2 Enoch* decided to keep this word in its Greek phonetical form, possibly envisioning it as a technical term.

41. Some manuscripts of *2 Enoch* speak about 200 descended Watchers, others about 200 myriads of descended Watchers. Cf. the shorter recension of *2 En.* 18:3 "These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.131.

42. *1 En.* 6:6: "And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.67–69.

43. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

44. *1 En.* 6:3–5: "And Semyaza, who was their leader, said to them: 'I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done, and (that) I alone will pay for this great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and bind one another with curses not to alter this plan, but to carry out this plan effectively.' Then they all swore together and all bound one another with curses to it." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.67–69.

45. *1 En.* 7:1–6: "And they took wives for themselves, and everyone chose for himself one each. And they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them. . . . And they became pregnant and bore large giants, and their height (was) three thousand cubits. These devoured all the toil of men, until men were unable to sustain them. And the giants turned against them in order to devour men. And they began to sin against birds, against animals, and against reptiles and against fish, and they devoured one another's flesh and drank the blood from it. Then the earth complained about the lawless ones." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.76–79.

46. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

47. Francis Andersen points to the fact that even though the phrase "under the earth" is not found in some manuscripts of the shorter recension (V and N) its "genuineness cannot be doubted." He further acknowledges that the phrase "simply does not fit the cosmography of the rest of the book, and even contradicts this very ch. [18], which locates the other fallen angels in the second heaven." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

48. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," 7–10; Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.114; Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature," 185; VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 159.

49. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature," 185.

50. Martha Himmelfarb suggests that "in *2 Enoch* the ascent is clearly a reworking of the ascent in the *Book of the Watchers* in combination with the tour to the ends of the earth." M. Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (ed. J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth; JSPSS, 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 82. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 221–23.

51. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.112.

52. Ibid.

53. The rendering of the name of the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic tradition here not as Satan but as Satanael/Satanail, with a theophoric angelic ending, appears to underline his original angelic status. In this context the change of the name to Satan (Slav. Сотона) and removing the theophoric ending signifies the expelling from the angelic rank, a tradition hinted in the longer recension of *2 En.* 31: "Adam—Mother; earthly and life. And I created a garden in Edem, in the east, so that he might keep the agreement and preserve the commandment. And I created for him an open heaven, so that he might look upon the angels, singing the triumphal song. And the light which is never darkened was perpetually in paradise. And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it. The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, but his thought did, since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve. But Adam he did not contact. But on account of her nescience I cursed him. But those whom I had blessed previously, them I did not curse; and those whom I had not blessed previously, even them I did not curse—neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other creature, but only mankind's evil fruit-bearing. This is why the fruit of doing good is sweat and exertion." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.152–54.

54. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

55. Robert Henry Charles underlines the peculiarity of the Satan terminology to this section of *1 Enoch*. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 66.

56. Daniel Olson observes that "the author [of the *Similitudes*] could have deduced the existence of 'satans' as the class of malevolent angels from passages like Numbers 22, where the Angel of the Lord is twice described as coming, literally, 'as a satan' to block Balaam's progress (vv 22, 32)." D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (North Richland Hills: Bibal, 2004), 80.

57. Matthew Black argues that in this passage "the satans are a special class of angels" that "have been identified with the 'angels of punishment.'" M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (SVTP, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 200.

58. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.128. See also *1 En.* 41:9, 53:3, 65:6. The Satan tradition might also be indirectly present in *1 En.* 69:6, the passage that describes an angelic leader Gadre'el who is credited there with leading Eve astray. On this tradition see Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 126; Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic Traditions in the Parables? A Query on *1 Enoch* 69:6," 352–60.

59. Matthew Black observes that "the idea that the watchers were the subjects of Satan is peculiar to the Parables, reflecting a later demonology." Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 219.

60. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.138.

61. Daniel Olson notes that "Satan the individual is mentioned once in the 'parables' (54:6), so it would appear that both the generic and the titular use are employed in this book, but caution is in order because 'satans' in Ethiopic can simply mean 'the hosts of Satan' and need not imply a wholly distinct category of evil spirits." Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 80.

62. The *Book of the Similitudes* endows the seventh antediluvian patriarch with several roles and titles previously unknown in the early Enochic lore, such as "righteous one," "anointed one," "chosen one," and "son of man." One cannot fail to recognize that in contrast to other designations of Enoch found in the early Enochic materials, the titles from the *Book of the Similitudes* exhibit strong roots and connections with the motifs and themes found in the Bible, particularly in the Book of Isaiah, Psalm 2, and the Book of Daniel. Scholars have therefore proposed that these titles might be shaped by familiar biblical characters, such as the Servant of the Lord found in Deutero-Isaiah and the Son of Man of Daniel 7. On the titles of Enoch in the *Book of the Similitudes* and their biblical roots, see VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," 169–70.

63. *2 En.* 29:1–6: "And for all my own heavens I shaped a shape from the fiery substance. My eye looked at the solid and very hard rock. And from the flash of my eye I took the marvelous substance of lightning, both fire in water and water in fire; neither does this one extinguish that one, nor does that one dry out this one. That is why lightning is sharper and brighter than the shining of the sun, and softer than water, more solid than the hardest rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the ranks of the bodiless armies—the myriad angels—and their weapons are fiery and their clothes are burning flames. And I gave orders that each should stand in his own rank. Here Satanail was hurled from the

height, together with his angels. But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless. And thus I created the entire heavens. And the third day came." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.148.

64. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 28.

65. *1 En.* 10:4–6: "And further the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him in the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire.'" Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.87–88.

66. The similar development might be detected also in the *Book of the Similitudes*, an Enochic text already mentioned in this study which also exhibits some connections with the Merkabah tradition.

67. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 148–208.

68. For the background of the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael, see Reed, *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Reception-History of the Book of the Watchers in Judaism and Christianity*, 337ff; idem, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*, 252ff.

69. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.258–59.

70. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 107.

71. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.260.

72. *b. Sanh.* 38B, *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, and *Zohar* III.207b–208a.

73. The motif of the three Watchers is also found in several Tafsirs on the *Qur'an*. For the original texts, translations and extensive discussion of these traditions, see Ф.И. Абдуллаева, *Персидская Кораническая экзегетика: Тексты, переводы, комментарии* (С.-Петербург: Петербургское Востоковедение, 2000).

74. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.303.

75. MS New York JTS 8128.

76. P. Schäfer, with M. Schlüter and H. G. von Mutius, *Synopse zur Hekhaloth-Literatur* (TSAJ, 2; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981), 164.

77. M. Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (TSAJ, 9; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1985), 162–64.

78. Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*, 134.

79. Slav. служите. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 17.

80. Slav. службы ваше. Ibid.

81. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

82. See Georgian *LAE* 14:1: "Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, 'Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity.'" Latin *LAE* 14:1: "Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying:

'Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

83. Thus, in *2 En.* 24 God invites the seer to the place next to him, closer than that of Gabriel, in order to share with him the information that remains hidden even from the angels. The shorter recension of *2 En.* 24 puts even greater emphasis on the unique nature of this offer; in this recension God places the patriarch "to the left of himself, closer than Gabriel (Slav. Ближе Гаврила)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.143; Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 90 (Ms. B), 117 (Ms. U). Crispin Fletcher-Louis writes that the fact that in *2 Enoch* the seer is seated next to God "suggests some contact with the rabbinic Enoch/Metatron tradition." Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 154. Michael Mach also suggests that this motif is closely connected with the Metatron imagery. He notes that "the exaltation to a rank higher than that of the angels as well as the seating at God's side have their parallels and considerable development in Enoch's/Metatron's transformation and enthronement as depicted in *3 Enoch*." M. Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism?" in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (3 vols.; ed. J. J. Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998), 1.229–64 at 251.

84. On the Adamic background of the temptation narrative in Matthew and Luke, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (2 vols.; AB, 28, 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 1.512.

85. Cf. Armenian *LAE* 14:1: "Then Michael summoned all the angels and God said to them, 'Come, bow down *to god* whom I made.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

Satan and the Visionary

1. Cf. C.M. Tuckett, "The Temptation Narrative in Q," in *The Four Gospels. Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. van Segbroeck et al.; 3 vols.; BETL, 100; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 1.479–507.

2. On the temptation story in the canonical gospels see: E. Best, *The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology* (SNTSMS, 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); C. Blumenthal, "Zur 'Zinne des Tempels,'" *ZNW* 96 (2005): 274–83; A. B. Caneday, "Mark's Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration: 'He Was with the Wild Animals and Angels Ministered to Him,'" *BBR* 9 (1999): 19–36; C. Charlier, "Les tentations de Jésus au désert," *BVC* 5 (1954): 85–92; P. Doble, "The Temptations," *ExpTim* 72 (1960–61): 91–93; T. L. Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain* (JSNTSup, 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985): 87–104; R. Dormandy, "Jesus' Temptations In Mark's Gospel: Mark 1:12–13," *ExpTim* 114:6 (2003): 183–87; J. Dupont, "L'arrière-fond biblique du récit des tentations de Jésus," *NTS* 3 (1957): 287–304; idem, "Les tentations de Jésus dans le récit de Luc (Luc, 4, 1–13)," *ScEccl* 14 (1962): 7–29; idem, "L'origine du récit des tentations de Jésus au désert," *RB* 73 (1966): 30–76; idem, *Les tentations de Jésus au désert* (StudNeot, 4; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968); C. Duquoc, "La tentation du Christ," *LumVie* 53 (1961): 21–41; E. Fascher, *Jesus und der Satan: Eine Studie zur Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte* (HM, 11; Halle: Max Niemayer, 1949); idem, "Jesus und die Tiere," *TLZ* 90 (1965): 561–70; A. Feuillet, "Le récit lucanien

de la tentation (Lc 4, 1–13)," *Bib* 40 (1959): 613–31; idem, "Die Versuchungen Jesu," *Comm* 8 (1979): 226–37; J. T. Fitzgerald, "The Temptation of Jesus: The Testing of the Messiah in Matthew," *ResQ* 15 (1972): 152–60; S. R. Garrett, *The Temptations of Jesus in Mark's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son (Matt 4:1–11 & Par.)* (ConBNT, 2.1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966); J. B. Gibson, "Jesus' Wilderness Temptation According to Mark," *JSNT* 53 (1994): 3–34; idem, "A Turn on 'Turning Stones To Bread': A New Understanding of the Devil's Intention in Q 4.3.," *BR* 41 (1996): 37–57; C. A. Gieschen, "Why Was Jesus with the Wild Beasts (Mark 1:13)?" *CTQ* 73.1 (2009): 77–80; F. J. Glendenning, "The Devil and the Temptations of Our Lord according to St. Luke," *Theology* 52 (1949): 102–105; E. Graham, "The Temptation in the Wilderness," *CQR* 162 (1961): 17–32; J. P. Heil, "Jesus with the Wild Animals in Mark 1:13," *CBQ* 68:1 (2006): 63–78; P. Hoffmann, "Die Versuchungsgeschichte in der Logienquelle," *BZ* 13 (1969): 207–23; R. Holst, "The Temptation of Jesus," *ExpTim* 82 (1971): 343–44; N. Hyldahl, "Die Versuchung auf der Zinne des Tempels," *ST* 15 (1961): 113–27; S. L. Johnson, "The Temptation of Christ," *BSac* 123 (1966): 342–52; H. A. Kelly, "The Devil in the Desert," *CBQ* 26 (1964): 190–220; P. Ketter, *Die Versuchung Jesu nach dem Berichte der Synoptiker* (NTAbh, 6/3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1918); J. A. Kirk, "The Messianic Role of Jesus and the Temptation Narrative: A Contemporary Perspective," *EvQ* 44 (1972): 11–29, 91–102; E. Koskenniemi, "The Traditional Roles Inverted: Jesus and the Devil's Attack," *BZ* 52:2 (2008): 261–68; H. Kruse, "Das Reich Satans," *Bib* 58 (1977): 29–61; G. Lafon, "La genèse de l'homme: Lecture de Luc 4, 1–13," *Christus* 22 (1975): 443–55; H. G. Leder, "Sündenfallerzählung und Versuchungsgeschichte," *ZNW* 54 (1963): 188–216; H. Mahnke, *Die Versuchungsgeschichte im Rahmen der synoptischen Evangelien: Ein Beitrag zur frühen Christologie* (BBET, 9; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1978); R. Morgenthaler, "Roma-Sedes Satanae (Röm 13, 1 ff im Lichte von Luk 4, 5–8)," *TZ* 12 (1956): 289–304; F. Neugebauer, *Jesu Versuchung: Wegentscheidung am Anfang* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1986); L. Panier, *Récit et commentaires de la tentation de Jésus au désert: Approche sémiotique du discours interprétatif* (Paris: Cerf, 1984); P. Pokorný, "The Temptation Stories and Their Intention," *NTS* 20 (1973–74): 115–27; B. Przybylski, "The Role of Matthew 3:13–4:11 in the Structure and Theology of the Gospel of Matthew," *BTB* 4 (1974): 222–35; H. Riesenfeld, "Le caractère messianique de la tentation au désert," *La venue du Messie* (RechBib, 6; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1962), 51–63; idem, "The Messianic Character of the Temptation in the Wilderness," in *The Gospel Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970), 75–93; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Temptations," in *Twelve New Testament Studies* (SBT, 34; London: SCM, 1962), 53–60; L. Schaivo, "The Temptation of Jesus: the Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q," *JSNT* 25 (2002): 141–64; J. Schlosser, "Les tentations de Jésus et la cause de Dieu," *RevScRel* 76:4 (2002): 403–25; A. J. Schmutzer, "Jesus' Temptation: A Reflection on Matthew's Use of Old Testament Theology and Imagery," *ATJ* 40 (2008): 15–42; R. Schnackenburg, "Der Sinn der Versuchung Jesu bei den Synoptikern," *TQ* 132 (1952): 297–326; idem, *Schriften zum Neuen Testament* (Munich: Kösel, 1971), 101–28; W. A. Schulze, "Der Heilige und die wilden Tiere: Zur Exegese von Mc 1,13b," *ZNW* 46 (1955): 280–83; P. Seidelin, "Zur Christologie der Versuchungsgeschichte bei Matthäus und Lukas," *DT* 6 (1939): 127–39; F. Smyth-Florentin, "Jésus, le Fils du

Père, vainqueur de Satan: Mt 4,1–11; Mc 1, 12–15; Lc 4, 1–13," *AsSeign* 14 (1973): 56–75; W. Stegemann, "Die Versuchung Jesu im Matthäusevangelium: Mt 4, 1–11," *EvT* 45 (1985): 29–44; W. R. Stegner, "Wilderness and Testing in the Scrolls and in Mt 4:1–11," *BR* 12 (1967): 18–27; idem, "The Temptation Narrative: a Study in the Use of Scripture by Early Jewish Christians," *BR* 35 (1990): 5–17; H. Swanston, "The Lukan Temptation Narrative," *JTS* 17 (1966): 71; A. B. Taylor, "Decision in the Desert: The Temptation of Jesus in the Light of Deuteronomy," *Int* 14 (1960): 300–309; N. H. Taylor, "The Temptation of Jesus on the Mountain: A Palestinian Christian Polemic against Agrippa I," *JSNT* 83 (2001): 27–49; J. Theron, "Trinity in the Temptation Narrative and the Interpretation of Noordmans, Dostoyevski, and Mbeki," *JRT* 1.2 (2007): 204–22; J. W. van Henten, "The First Testing of Jesus: A Rereading of Mark 1.12–13," *NTS* 45:3 (1999): 349–66; W. Wilkens, "Die Versuchung Jesu nach Matthäus," *NTS* 28 (1982): 479–89.

3. Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus au desert*, 290; Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 1.507–508; Taylor, "The Temptation of Jesus on the Mountain: A Palestinian Christian Polemic against Agrippa I," 33.

4. Taylor, "The Temptation of Jesus on the Mountain: A Palestinian Christian Polemic against Agrippa I," 33.

5. "Moses entered the cloud, and went up on the mountain. Moses was on the mountain for forty days and forty nights." (NRSV).

6. "He got up, and ate and drank; then he went in the strength of that food forty days and forty nights to Horeb the mount of God." (NRSV).

7. For the discussion of the forty-day motif, see Garrett, *The Temptations of Jesus in Mark's Gospel*, 57; Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son*, 41–43; Kelly, "The Devil in the Desert," 196.

8. "Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab to Mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, which is opposite Jericho, and the Lord showed him the whole land: Gilead as far as Dan, all Naphtali, the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, all the land of Judah as far as the Western Sea, the Negeb, and the Plain—that is, the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees—as far as Zoar. The Lord said to him, 'This is the land of which I swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, 'I will give it to your descendants'; I have let you see it with your eyes, but you shall not cross over there'" (NRSV).

9. Dupont, "L'arrière-fond biblique du recit des tentations de Jesus," 297.

10. *Pesikta Rabbati* (ed. M. Friedmann; Wien, Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1886), 162a.

11. Cf. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 286–88.

12. Gen 6:1–8: "When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that they were fair; and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose. Then the Lord said, 'My spirit shall not abide in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred twenty years.' The Nephilim were on the earth in those days—and also afterward—when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown. The Lord saw that the wickedness of humankind was great in the earth, and that every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil continually. And the Lord was sorry that he

had made humankind on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart. So the Lord said, 'I will blot out from the earth the human beings I have created—people together with animals and creeping things and birds of the air, for I am sorry that I have made them.' But Noah found favor in the sight of the Lord." (NRSV).

13. *1 En.* 25:3 "And he answered me, saying: 'This high mountain which you saw, whose summit is like the throne of the Lord, is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he comes down to visit the earth for good.'" Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.113.

14. *Exagoge* 67–90 reads: "Moses: I had a vision of a great throne on the top of Mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man was sitting on it, with a crown and a large scepter in his left hand. He beckoned to me with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the scepter and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me a royal crown and got up from the throne. I beheld the whole earth all around and saw beneath the earth and above the heavens. A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all. They paraded past me like a battalion of men. Then I awoke from my sleep in fear." H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 54–55.

15. On the celestial Curtain, *Pargod*, as the heavenly counterpart of the *paroket*, the veil of the earthly Temple, see Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.296; Arbel, *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature*, 39, 100; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT, 2; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1951), 73ff.; F.T. Fallon, *The Enthronement of Sabaoth: Jewish Elements in Gnostic Creation myths*. (NHS, 10; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 55; D. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* (New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1980) 169, note 99; O. Hofius, *Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes* (WUNT, 14; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1972), 17ff.; C. R. A. Morray-Jones, *A Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism: A Source-critical and Tradition-historical Inquiry* (JSJSS, 59; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 164ff; H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch, or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973), 141; C. Rowland and C. R. A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (CRINT, 12; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 372.

16. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.295–98.

17. The concept of Jesus as the Last Adam can be found as early as Rom 5, a reference that predates the Gospel accounts. For a discussion of this tradition, see Garrett, *The Temptations of Jesus in Mark's Gospel*, 58.

18. Jarl Fossum's research demonstrates that the motif of the God's opposition to the veneration of Adam by the angels appears in several forms in the rabbinic literature. Fossum differentiates three major forms of this tradition: "(1) The angels mistake Adam for God and want to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God lets sleep fall upon Adam so it becomes clear that the latter is human; (2) all creatures mistake Adam for their creator and wish to bow before him, but Adam teaches them to render all honor to God as their true creator; (3) the angels mistake Adam for God and wish to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God reduces Adam's size." Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," 1.529–39. An important similarity can be detected between these Adamic traditions

and the Metatron accounts. In *b. Hag.* 15a God punished Metatron with sixty fiery lashes. Alan Segal observes that "just as Metatron needed correction for the false impression he gave Aher, so Adam needs correction for the false impression given the angels." Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 112. Indeed, in the Adamic "two powers" accounts, the protoplast is disciplined in various ways, including the reduction of his stature. Thus, from *Gen. R.* 8:10 one can learn that when God created man in his own image "the ministering angels mistook him [for a divine being] and wished to exclaim 'Holy' before Him. . . . What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He caused sleep to fall upon him, and so all knew that he was [only a mortal] man." Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.61. In the *Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba* the angels' erroneous behavior is explained through reference to Adam's gigantic body: "This teaches that initially Adam was created from the earth to the firmament. When the ministering angels saw him, they were shocked and excited by him. At that time they all stood before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said to Him; 'Master of the Universe! There are two powers in the world, one in heaven and one on earth.' What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do then? He placed His hand on him, and decreased him, setting him at one thousand cubits." Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 226. For the Hebrew text, see S. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1950–53), 2.333–477. *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1:1 reflects the same tradition: "Said R. Aibu, 'At that moment the first man's stature was cut down and diminished to one hundred cubits.'" *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* (tr. J. Neusner; 2 vols.; Atlanta; Scholars, 1987) 1.1.

19. On this tradition see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 165–76.

The Flooded Arboretums

1. F. I. Andersen, "The Sun in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch," *Христіанскій Востокъ* 4.10 (2006): 380–412; R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup, 93; Leiden: Brill, 1998); H. E. Gaylord, "3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983–85), 1.653–79; M. I. Sokolov, "Феникс в апокрифах об Енохе и Варухе," in *Новый сборник статей по славяноведению, составленный и изданный учениками В.И. Ламанского* (С.-Петербург: Типография Министерства Путей Сообщения, 1905), 395–405.

2. R. Bauckham, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell," *JTS* 41 (1990): 355–85, esp. 372.

3. Ibid., 372.

4. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 93.

5. For publications of the Slavonic MSS of *3 Baruch*, see E. Hercigonja, "'Videnje Varuhovo' u Petrisovu Zborniku iz 1468 godine," *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 7 (1964): 63–93; H. E. Gaylord, "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," *Polata Knigopisnaja* 7 (1983): 49–56; Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди,* 193–200; P. A. Lavrov, "Откровение Варуха," in *Апокрифические Тексты* (Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Императорской Академии Наук, 67.3; С.-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии

Наук, 1899), 149–151; S. Novakovic, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," *Starine* 18 (1886): 203–209; M. I. Sokolov, "Апокрифическое Откровение Варуха," *Древности. Труды Славянской Комиссии Московского Археологического Общества 4.1* (Москва: Императорское Московское Археологическое Общество, 1907), 201–58; N. S. Tihonravov, "Откровение Варуха," in *Апокрифические сказания* (Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Императорской Академии Наук, LVIII.4; С.-Петербург: Российская Императорская Академия Наук, 1894), 48–54.

6. J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece* (PVTG, 2; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

7. Gaylord, "3 Baruch,"1.655.

8. In his research Daniel Harlow supports this position, observing that "in some instances the Slavonic likely does possess an equal or better claim to priority than does the Greek, as is the case in chapters 4–5." D. C. Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christiantity* (SVTP, 12; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 40. See also his comment on p. 150: "certainly the Slavonic presents a more coherent form of material in chapters 4–5."

9. Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.657.

10. Some MSS read "two thousand." See Gaylord, "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," 52.

11. Slav. Оуриль. Gaylord, "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," 52; Slav. Сарасаиль. Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, 196. Variants of this angel's name in the Slavonic manuscripts of *3 Baruch* show that the author/editor knew the Enochic variations involving names Uriel, Phanuel, and Sariel.

12. Slav. Сатанаиль/Сотонаиль. Gaylord, "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," 52; Tihonravov, "Откровение Варуха," 48–54. The Greek manuscripts read Σαμαηλ/Σαμουηλ. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece*, 85.

13. After this verse, several Slavonic MSS of the Russian group contain the following tradition: "And he said to Michael, 'Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made.' And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Satanael did not bow down and said, 'To mud and dirt I will never bow down.' And he said, 'I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest.' Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said, 'These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.' And God commanded an angel to guard Paradise. And they ascended in order to bow down to God. Then having gone, Satanael found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, 'Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly.' And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve. But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God. And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said, What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise? And Eve said, 'From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat.' And having heard Satanael said to her, 'God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam.' And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked." Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost His '-el,'" 305. For the Slavonic text, see Tihonravov, "Откровение Варуха," 50.

14. Slav. и възатъ вьсь цвѣтъ. Gaylord, "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," 52. This sentence about the destruction of all vegetation in the garden is not included in Gaylord's English translation of the Slavonic version, published in *OTP*. The reading, however, can be found in Gaylord's publication of the Slavonic text of *3 Baruch* in "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," 52. See also Tihonravov, "Откровение Варуха," 51.

15. Trans. Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.666. Here and later I use Gaylord's English translation of the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* and follow his division of chapters and verses. The Slavonic citations of *3 Baruch* are drawn from the following publications of the Slavonic manuscripts: Hercigonja, "'Videnje Varuhovo' u Petrisovu Zborniku iz 1468 godine," 63–93; Gaylord, "Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха," 49–56; Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, 193–200; Lavrov, "Откровение Варуха," 149–151; Novakovic, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," 203–209; Sokolov, "Апокрифическое Откровение Варуха," 201–258; Tihonravov, "Откровение Варуха," 48–54.

16. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1984); idem, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1994); F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ, 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 (XXII). Textes Araméens. Première Partie. 4Q529–549* (DJD, 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); J. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmology: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM, 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992): L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran. Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ, 63; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997).

17. W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943–46): 52–74; P. O. Skjærvø, "Iranian Epic and the Manichean Book of Giants. Irano-Manichaica III," *AOASH* 48.1–2 (1995): 187–223; W. Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in *Orientalia J.Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblate* (AI, 23; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 491–505.

18. I use the Hebrew texts and the English translation of the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* published in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 321–28.

19. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1063.

20. = Hahyah.

21. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 325.

22. Ibid., 328.

23. In view of its extremely fragmentary nature, this evidence can be considered only as tentative.

24. = Hahyah.

25. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," 57 and 60.

26. Ibid., 66.

27. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 304.

28. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*, 114.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95.

32. Ibid., 96.

33. 6Q8 line 2: "its three roots [. . . and] while I was [watching] came [. . .] all this orchard, and [. . .]." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1149.

34. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 101. See also Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 87 and 95; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 309.

35. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95–96; Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*, 114–15.

36. It should be noted that any arrangement of the fragments must be considered tentative. On this issue, see L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Sequencing of Fragments Belonging to the Qumran Book of Giants: An Inquiry into the Structure and Purpose of an Early Jewish Composition," *JSP* 16 (1997): 3–24, esp. 10.

37. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95.

38. The Greek version contains only a very short reference to Samael's planting of the tree: "It is the vine which the angel Samael planted (ἐφύτευσεν) by which the Lord God became angered, and he cursed him and his planting (τὴν φυτείαν αὐτοῦ)." Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.667; see also Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece*, 85.

39. The commissioning of Michael for the mission of gathering two hundred thousand angels might allude to Michael's role in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 10:11–15), where he is responsible for the affairs connected with Shemihazah and the Watchers.

40. That three angels mentioned in *3 Bar.* 4:7 in conjunction with the two hundred thousand angels might be a reference to a tradition in which the three principal angels (Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel) were called by the fourth principal angel, Michael, to fulfill God's command to plant the Garden. Another explanation of the angelic triad in *3 Bar.* 4:7 is that it could represent the leaders of the Watchers group. The later Enochic accounts often speak about three, not two, leaders of the fallen Watchers. See *3 En.* 4:5–6: "And the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me (Enoch) in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.258. See also *3 En.* 5:9: "[I]t was only because Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.260.

41. See *1 En.* 6:6: "And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.68.

42. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130.

43. The possibility that the author of *3 Baruch* was cognizant of the myth of the Watchers is supported also by the information found in other parts of the book. According to Bauckham, the author of *3 Baruch* indeed knew about the story of the Watchers. He suggests that two groups of condemned angels in chapters 2 and 3 of *3 Baruch* parallel two groups of Watchers in the second and fifth heaven from *2 En.* 7 and 18. See Bauckham, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell," 372.

44. I am indebted to Professor Michael Stone for this clarification.

45. See also 4Q504 8:4–6: "[. . . Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the image of [your] glory [. . .] [. . . the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and

intelligence and knowledge [. . .] [. . . in the gard]en of Eden, which you had planted. . . ." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1009.

46. Slav. **Похоть греховнаю**. Novakovic, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," 206.

47. Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.666.

48. *1 En.* 6:1–2a: "And it came to pass, when the son of men had increased, that in those days there were born to them fair and beautiful daughters. And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.67.

49. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 327.

50. *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 1–4: "When the generation of Enosh arose and practiced idolatry and when the generation of the flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One—Blessed be He—was grieved that He had created man, as it is said, 'And God repented that he created man, and He grieved at heart.' Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: 'O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, Do not create man?' The Holy One—Blessed be He—said to them: 'Then what shall become of the world?' They said before Him: 'We will suffice (Thee) instead of it.' He said: 'It is revealed and (well) known to me that if peradventure you had lived in that (earthly) world, the evil inclination would have ruled you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be more stubborn than they.' They said before Him: 'Give us Thy sanction and let us descend {and dwell} among the creatures and then Thou shall see how we shall sanctify Thy name.' He said to them: 'Descend and dwell ye among them.' Forthwith the Holy One allowed the evil inclination to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, 'When the sons of God saw the daughters of man, they could not restrain their inclination.'" Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 327.

51. "And he said to Michael, 'Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made.' And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Satanael did not bow down and said, 'To mud and dirt I will never bow down.' And he said, 'I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest.' Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said, 'These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.' And God commanded an angel to guard Paradise." Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost His '-el,'" 305.

52. "Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: 'O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, Do not create man?'" Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 327.

53. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," 63.

54. Slav. **вьсь цвѣтъ**. Gaylord, "**Славянский текст Третьей книги Варуха**," 52.

55. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.260.

56. "For having walked in the stubbornness of their hearts the Watchers of the heaven fell; on account of it they were caught, for they did not heed the precepts of God. And their sons, whose height was like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains, fell." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 555.

57. "outside . . . and . . . left . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . and the trees that come out, those are the Egregoroi, and the giants that came out of the women. And . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over. . . ." Henning, "The Book of the Giants," 66.

58. It is possible that *3 Bar.* 4:3 also attests to the traditions of the giants. The text says that Baruch's angelic guide showed him a serpent who "drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass." This description might allude to the appetites of the giants who were notorious for consuming everything alive on the surface of the earth. The *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of Giants* attest to the enormous appetites of the giants. The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* has it that "each of them eats daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, a thousand oxen, and all kinds (of animals)." Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 328.

59. Ibid.

60. The associations of Noah with the plant abound, e.g., *1 En.* 10:16: "Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth. . . . And let the plant of righteousness and truth appear." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.90. For a survey of the evidences, see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 99–100.

61. Scholars believe that 6Q8 line 2 also refers to the story of Noah and his three sons.

62. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 328.

63. Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.666.

64. Ibid., 1.668.

65. *1 En.* 10:1–3: "And then the Most High, the Great and Holy One, spoke and sent Arsyalalyur to the son of Lamech, and said to him: Say to him in my name 'Hide yourself,' and reveal to him the end which is coming, for the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come on all the earth, and what is in it will be destroyed. And now teach him that he may escape, and (that) his offspring may survive for the whole earth." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.87.

66. Sarasael represents here the corruption of Sariel, the angelic name of the archangel Uriel also known in various traditions under the name of Phanuel. On the Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel connection, see Orlov, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob," 2.59–76.

67. Matthew Black observes that "the longer text of Sync. seems closer to an original." Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 133.

68. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 161–62.

69. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 30.

70. P. A. Tiller, "The 'Eternal Planting' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4.3 (1997): 312–35, esp. 317. See also S. Fujita, "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *JSJ* 7 (1976): 30–45.

71. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO, 510–11, Scriptores Aethiopici, 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 2.43.

72. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1–44.

73. Even though the *Book of Noah* is not listed in the ancient catalogues of the apocryphal books, the writings attributed to Noah are mentioned in such early materials as the *Book of Jubilees* (*Jub.* 10:13 and *Jub.* 21:10), the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran, and the Greek fragment of the Levi document from Mount Athos. In addition to the titles of the lost *Book of Noah*, several fragmentary materials

associated with the early Noachic traditions have survived. Most researchers agree that some parts of the lost *Book of Noah* "have been incorporated into *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* and that some manuscripts of Qumran preserve some traces of it." García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 26.

74. *Jub.* 10:11b–14 "All of the evil ones who were savage we tied up in the place of judgement, while we left a tenth of them to exercise power on the earth before the satan. We told Noah all the medicines for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure (them) by means of the earth's plants. Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah's children. He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.60.

75. The analysis demonstrates that, among the Jewish and Manichean materials associated with the *Book of Giants*, the *Midrash Shemhazai and Azael* shows the closest proximity to the garden traditions found in *3 Bar.* 4.

76. Daniel Harlow noted that the author of *3 Bar.* 4 "put the Watchers' myth on its head." Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, 59.

77. The depiction of the serpent in *3 Baruch* seems to allude to the enormous appetites of the giants; see *3 Bar.* 4:3 "And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a stone mountain. And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass." Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.666.

78. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.28.

79. Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 1.659.

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RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Dark Mirrors is a wide-ranging study of two central figures in early Jewish demonology—the fallen angels Azazel and Satanael. Andrei A. Orlov explores the mediating role of these paradigmatic celestial rebels in the development of Jewish demonological traditions from Second Temple apocalypticism to later Jewish mysticism, such as that of the Hekhalot and *Shiʿur Qomah* materials. Throughout, Orlov makes use of Jewish pseudepigraphical materials in Slavonic that are not widely known.

Orlov traces the origins of Azazel and Satanael to different and competing mythologies of evil, one to the Fall in the Garden of Eden, the other to the revolt of angels in the antediluvian period. Although Azazel and Satanael are initially representatives of rival etiologies of corruption, in later Jewish and Christian demonological lore each is able to enter the other's stories in new conceptual capacities. *Dark Mirrors* also examines the symmetrical patterns of early Jewish demonology that are often manifested in these fallen angels' imitation of the attributes of various heavenly beings, including principal angels and even God himself.

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